Daily Report

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Hungary's Antall Addresses NATO Workshop

LD0306212193 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1600 GMT 3 Jun 93

[Text] For the first time in a former socialist, central-east European country, a NATO workshop conference has opened in Budapest. Gabor Nemes reports.

[Nemes] Hungary, or at least part of Hungarian foreign policy thinking has always strived toward the west and NATO, Prime Minister Jozsef Antall said at the NATO workshop, a kind of independent think-tank meeting in Budapest. The prime minister made a broad overview from the Middle Ages until today.

[Begin Antall recording] European integration, within which the Western European Union is a pillar, is a basic principle of Hungarian foreign policy. However, for centuries, the comprehensive and great unity of the whole has in fact been trans-Atlantic thought. And NATO must be this stabilizing factor embodying this trans-Atlantic thought. [end recording]

[Nemes] The prime minister, like General (Davies), the honorary chairman of the workshop, who opened the session, thinks that everyone, including NATO, committed serious errors in handling the Yugoslav situation. The head of government emphasized that it is important now to avoid improvised action when we take on commitments in the conflict. He regards maintaining the political and economic balance as a serious problem of our region. He said that ethnic questions should not be left unresolved. This gives rise to further conflicts. It is time to turn from merely reacting to events to preventative foreign-policy thinking. Finally, Jozsef Antall spoke about relations with neighboring countries and indirectly about possible basic treaties too.

[Begin Antall recording] Within the security system that was drawn up, we regard the establishment of good relations with neighboring countries to be of fundamental importance. We cannot accept demands and requests which are in conflict with either facts or logic, but we want to adhere to every other international agreement, including the peace treaties ratified in the Hungarian legislative records, the Helsinki Basic Document, and the Paris Charter; we firmly insist on that. [end recording]

Czech Deputy Minister Addresses Workshop

LD0406175993 Prague CTK in English 1708 GMT 4 Jun 93

[Text] Budapest, June 4 (CTK)—Czech Deputy Foreign Minister Alexander Vondra said today the Czech Republic was seeking to strengthen cooperation with NATO as much as possible, so that to gain a full-fledged member status in the organisation in the long run.

In an address at NATO's international workshop on regional conflicts Vondra stressed, however, that in Prague's view this process could not be a one-way street and that both parties should take accommodating steps to achieve this goal. It would be appropriate, he said, for NATO to set precise criteria that a state ought to meet for membership and to show willingness to grow.

Vondra said this process could lead to the appearance of a sort of central wing within NATO in the future, which would include the central European countries.

Speaking with Czech journalists, Vondra voced the view that the West no longer perceived the postcommunist world as one bloc and was beginning to display different approaches to individual countries. It is thus possible to conclude that the central European region to which the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland and the Baltic states belong is perceived by NATO as more stable than other regions of the former communist world, Vondra said. He said that it would be advantegeous for the whole continent if these states join NATO in future.

The idea of expanding NATO, which has being unambiguously rejected in the past, now appears frequently in NATO officials' statements, Vondra said.

Workshop Discusses Strategy Changes

LD0606180693 Budapest MTI in English 1730 GMT 6 Jun 93

[Text] Budapest, June 6 (MTI)—The 10th NATO workshop being held in a country outside NATO signals a change in NATO strategies and demonstrates the indivisibility of European security, Hungarian politicians said at a press briefing after the meeting on Sunday.

Hungarian hosts and foreign organizers agreed the workshop, also attended by UN Deputy Secretary-General Marrack Goulding, Western European Union Secretary-General Wim van Eekelen and NATO Commander John Shalikashvili, was extremely successful.

Briefing the press, Hungarian Defence State Secretary Rudolf Joo and Deputy State Secretary for Foreign Affairs Ivan Baba reminded of Gen. Shalikashvili's expression that "European stability is of a single piece." The request to Hungary to host the conference reflects also the recognition of the important role of new democracies in maintaining international peace and stability, they said.

The workshop, they recalled, had the opportunity to discuss the role of the various international structures and their transformation, the possible enlargement of NATO, the new requirements for peacekeeping and peacemaking, security problems in the Balkans, mainly in the former Yugoslavia, in the Baltic region and in the Caucasus area, and the problems of various threat assessments and countermeasures.

The politicians said, at the workshop, there was a clear understanding that a transformed NATO is needed, and that one of the most important elements is the cohesive

role of NATO which directly maintains the Euro-Atlantic linkage and remains the forum of harmonized strategic decisions of its members.

The representatives of Central European countries expressed there was a need to further develop relations with NATO, and nobody disagreed with this, the officials reported, saying it would strengthen the international community's capability to meet dangers and challenges.

Naturally, they said, the question of the "maturity" of new democracies was not avoided, and the participants agreed that in the long term, the aim was the overall integration into functioning mechanisms of the alliance, rather than unilateral "guarantees" from outside.

The officials reported that the meeting put emphasis on problems of nationalism and ethnic intolerance reinforced by economic difficulties, saying a clear agreement has been reached on what Hungarian Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky said: that the Iron Curtain must not be replaced by a welfare wall.

Further, the meeting confirmed the need for an effective inter-relation between the different international structures. Also, the role and importance of prevention found a very clear accent in the debate, they said, referring to an address by Hungarian Prime Minister Jozsef Antall on the first day of the workshop.

The politicians emphasized that the visions represented by the majority of the participants confirmed the basic principles of Hungary's security policy, namely that there are no enemies, and that a response to insecurity has to be given by common understanding, solidarity, and openness from Vancouver to Vladivostok. This approach overwhelmed even the discussion on most delicate issues, like problems in the Baltic region, the Hungarian officials said.

Berisha, Hunger Strikers' Representatives Meet

AU0506202693 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 2000 GMT 5 Jun 93

[Text] This afternoon President of the Republic Sali Berisha received in a meeting the hunger strike representatives led by Mr. Rrapo Hajredin Danushi, chairman of the National Property With Justice Association, and Mr. Haki Hajdari, chairman of the National Political Persecutees and Former Kulaks Association.

In this meeting, the president told those present that he calls on the strikers to halt the strike. He considered their demands to be reasonable but unfulfillable.

Concerning the legislative initiative of the citizens, he said that he will guarantee the application of Article 23 of the Main Constitutional Provisions. Berisha stressed that the programs presented to the electorate cannot be changed. However, people who have tried and fought together for democracy should understand each other.

At the end of this open meeting, both sides maintained their respective stances.

Berisha, Italian Delegation Discuss Investments

AU0506181993 Tirana ATA in English 0809 GMT 5 Jun 93

[Text] Tirana, June 5 (ATA)—In the course of their activities in Tirana, the Italian delegation made up of Senator Zambanleti, president of the Italian-Albanian Institute, its vice president, and 12 industrialists has a meeting with the President of the Republic Sali Berisha.

During the meeting they exchanged opinions on the possible ways for investments in Albania and the extension of the activity of this institute to increase the economic, trade, and cultural cooperation between the two countries.

Delegation Holds Meetings in Austria

AU0506173693 Tirana ATA in English 0829 GMT 4 Jun 93

[Text] Tirana, 4 June (ATA)—[Passage indistinct] meeting with the Albanian delegation led by the Vice Premier Kopliku, and this is a guarantee for a further extension of cooperation between our two countries.

Mr. Kopliku and other members of the Albanian delegation made a presentation of the economic situation in Albania, valuing at the same time, the support of the European Community and Austria for Albania.

Mr. Busek demanded more detailed programs from the Albanian party regarding a concrete cooperation and aid that the Austrian Government may give. He promised for an encouragement of the Austrian investors to come to Albania and for the specialization of Albanian cadres in Austria. In regard with the field of science and education, he said that relations may be closer between universities, and our governments will encourage these relations. He said that he will also make his contribution to the financial and bank fields. Valuing the recent achievements of the Albanian Government as positive, Mr. Busek said that "It is natural that we are on the side of this country which goes towards progress and genuine democracy."

Kopliku-Busek Meeting

"Since the disintegration of the former Yugoslavia, we have had our worries over Kosova and the fate of the Albanians living in that country," Mr. Erhard Busek said in a meeting with the vice premier of Albania, Kopliku. "The Austrian Government, especially the Foreign Minister Alois Mock has long since attracted the attention to the maltreatment of the Albanians in Kosova," Mr. Busek stressed. "We," he continued, "are interested in the solution of this problem. Rugova was in Vienna to take part in a conference on this question and that of the universities of Prishtina. I think that the struggle in Bosnia is over, because it seems that the Serbs attained the aims they had. But we do not want the files on this question be closed. The Vance-Owen plan is not difficult to be applied."

Mr. Kopliku voiced the worry of the Albanian Government for the deterioration of the situation in Kosova and the increase of the Serbian repression in this country. He asked stronger sanctions for Serbia.

Serreqi-Busek Meeting

The Minister of Foreign Affairs Alfred Serreqi met with the Vice Chancellor of Austria Erhard Busek. After a briefing on the situation of the country in this period of transition, the foreign minister concentrated in the situation in former Yugoslavia. He denounced the Serbian repression, the policy of violence and genocide of Milosevic in Kosova. The origin of the Yugoslav crisis is in Kosova, he said, and there lies the final solution of it.

Both parties were of the opinion that international community is late in regard to the solution of the crisis in former Yugoslavia. They in the meeting exchanged opinions for a solution through political means of this crisis, stressing that it serves the stability in our region and broader.

Malasi-Busek Meeting

The post communist Albania conducts an open policy, with the great desire of establishing closer relations with other European countries, Tomor Malasi, vice chairman of the Presidency of the People's Assembly, said in the meeting he had with the vice chancellor of Austria, Busek. Mr. Malasi voiced the worry over the situation in the region and in Kosova in particular, as a result of the great Serbian chauvinism, and we demand a greater commitment of the European Community to the just solution of the crisis in former Yugoslavia.

Further on Mr. Busek learned of the activity of the People's Assembly concerning the new laws. Mr. Busek shared the worry over the tense situation in the region. Mr. Busek suggested that the deputies of the People's Assembly will meet and talk with their counterparts in other states to inform them of their worries over the situation in the region. In conclusion, Mr. Busek said that Austria is interested in investments in Albania and in this respect clear laws are needed. Albania has great chances for development because it is a stable country.

Selami-Busek Meeting

The situation in the Balkan region, the crisis in former Yugoslavia, and the threat of the spillover of the conflict in the south, were in the focus of the meeting of Eduard Selami, chairman of the Foreign Policy Commission of the People's Assembly, with the Austrian Vice Chancellor Busek. Mr. Selami said that the foreign policy of Albania is peaceful and aims at setting the bridges of cooperation in the Balkans.

Mr. Busek, also chairman of the Austrian People's Party, took interest in the role of the Democratic Party in governing the country and the problems it is faced with. Mr. Selami explained to Mr. Busek that the Democratic Party is in the position of a party of the right center and is fighting for the democratization of Albania through the establishment of the rule of law, etc.

During the talk, they emphasized their common opinions regarding the crisis in the region and voiced the desire of intensifying the relations between the two countries.

Meeting at the Tirana University Rector's Residence

Presently we are involved in fully restructuring the university and in this context we are interested in establishing relations with the universities of Austria, Rajmond Sharko, rector of Tirana University, declared at the meeting with Dr. Erhard Busek.

Mr. Busek underlined the role of the university in implementing the economic policy of a country and pointed to the traditional relations in education between Austria and Albania and expressed his consideration for a fresh beginning of the relations between the universities of the two countries. Mr. Busek was briefed on the fields Austria may help Albania and he agreed to establish direct links in the above fields. This can be attained by means of an Albanian delegation. They also agreed to run vocation courses in Austria, open a scientific library, establish contacts with the Austrian geology-mining universities, and Austrian lecturers are expected to come in Albania.

Amendments Adopted to Medical Service Law

AU0506173593 Tirana ATA in English 1004 GMT 4 Jun 93

[Text] Tirana, June 4 (ATA)—On June 3 sitting, the People's Assembly examined the draft law on some amendments to the Law of Medical Service and free medical aid by the state. According to this, the medical service in the Republic of Albania is run in the state and private institutions. The deputies discussed the amount of payment and decided to it by special law. The draft law was endorsed by majority of ballots.

At the end of the sitting, Deputy Perikli Teta made a statement protesting against the attitude of Mr. Arbnori at the European Parliament regarding the definitions for the independent deputies' group. We were expelled from the Democratic Party because we opposed its policy, he underlined. In closing he declared that Mr. Arbnori is incapable to represent the Albanian Parliament.

In reply to this statement, Deputy Ali Spahia declared that these deputies were expelled from the Democratic Party group because they persisted to cooperate with the communists. Namik Dokle, deputy of the Socialist Party, agreed with Mr. Teta and said that our parliament is not decently represented. We demanded Deputy Nano be a member of the delegation, but our request was not accepted.

Berov, Ministers Meet With Regional Governors

AU0506185193 Sofia BTA in English 1621 GMT 5 Jun 93

[Text] Khisarya, June 5 (BTA)—Prime Minister Lyuben Berov and cabinet ministers met with the nine regional governors at the residence in Khisarya (near Plovdiv, southern Bulgaria).

Before the closed-door meeting, Sofia's Mayor Aleksandur Yanchulev told BTA he did not know what subjects would be discussed. Finance Minister Stoyan Aleksandrov said he would take the opportunity to explain the relationship between state and municipal ownership.

After the meeting government spokesman Raycho Raykov said aspects of education, health care, environmental protection and free trade zones were on the agenda. Interethnic relations in different regions were also discussed but "Thank God, there is no information about ethnic opposition and tensions," Mr. Raykov said.

A wide range of agricultural issues—from the work of land commissions and liquidation councils to the harvesting of peas—were high on the agenda. It was decided the cabinet would meet regional governors on a monthly basis from now on. Today's meeting focused on questions of organization rather than of money, Mr. Raykov said in conclusion. According to him, the speech given by President Zhelev on Thursday did not provoke a special discussion of crime because it was addressed to parliament.

Commenting on an interpretation by the Bulgarian press following Mr. Berov's interview for the BBC, Mr. Raykov explained the prime minister did not say he expected a second Balkan war. Mr. Raykov said Prime Minister Berov is going to Macedonia tomorrow to discuss opportunities for trade and economic cooperation so as to reduce losses due to the enforcement of the UN sanctions.

Prime Minister, Delegation Depart for Macedonia

AU0606134393 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1300 GMT 6 Jun 93

[Text] About one and a half hours ago the Bulgarian delegation led by Prime Minister Lyuben Berov departed for Skopje. Perhaps at this moment the delegation is crossing the border between Bulgaria and Macedonia.

The delegation includes Neycho Neev, deputy prime minister, deputy ministers, and responsible state officials.

Prior to the delegation's departure to Macedonia Raycho Raykov, governmental spokesman, said to a BTA reporter that in Skopje our delegation will sign a trade-economic agreement on trade in the border regions, and an agreement on the trade exchange between the two countries.

According to the program at about 1830 [1530 GMT] our delegation will be greeted by Vranko Crvenkovski, Macedonian prime minister.

Merit of Visit Questioned

AU0706084893 Sofia OTECHESTVEN VESTNIK in Bulgarian 2 Jun 93 p 1

[Mikhail Neykov commentary; "Quo Vadis Berov?"]

[Text] Quo Vadis? We address this question not to God but to the prime minister on the eve of his upcoming official visit to the Republic of Macedonia. The signing of a few agreements is hardly a reason for going to Skopje. Cooperation along the border will continue to be problematic, because the main obstacle—the economic abyss in which we find ourselves—still exists. For the same reason we cannot expect a boom in our cultural relations, in addition, we cannot expect Skopje to allow Bulgaria's "Pirin" Ensemble to sing Bulgarian patriotic songs related to Macedonian history, there. Consular relations and agreement on avoiding double taxation could be settled by representatives of the relevant ministries. Thus, Berov's visit to Skopje obviously has a different goal.

If we put together several facts, things become clearer. In the first place this is the meeting between Kiro Gligorov and Slobodan Milosevic in Okhrid. The two exchanged thoughts on a "broad range of issues," including the eventual deployment of U.S. troops along the northern border of the former Yugoslav Republic. We can assume that they also discussed the situation in the Balkans and the exacerbating dispute between Athens and Skopje, as well as the prospects of Macedonia's contacts with Bulgaria. Could we not assume that Gligorov coordinated positions with the Serbian president? This would not be too surprising against the background of the fact that in the last approximately 50 years Belgrade openly directed and financed all the activities of the nameless republic. Unfortunately, the democratic breeze that engulfed the whole of Eastern Europe, missed Belgrade and Skopje. Former Titoists continue to occupy leading positions and one could not expect bold and radical decisions from them. Then, when is Berov going? Will he not repeat the blunder of the president, who received a translation of his book to a language that does not exist? To greet in a friendly manner and talk to the person who only a few weeks ago had the tenacity to deny the most precious element of our cultural history [reference to Gligorov speech at the UN General Assembly in which he denied the Bulgarian origin of the Slavonic alphabet], is—to put it mildly—a misunderstanding. The visit will certainly intensify the attention of Athens and other interested countries. Inevitably, someone will think that Sofia will further approve of Skopje's comprehensive policy. This would be bad, very bad for Bulgaria.

UK Foreign Secretary Interviewed During Visit

AU0506184793 Sofia Bulgarska Televiziya Network in Bulgarian 1700 GMT 5 Jun 93

[Interview with British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd by an unidentified reporter "specially for Panorama

Program"; place and date not given—recorded; Hurd speaks in English with superimposed Bulgarian translation]

[Text] [Reporter] Mr. Hurd, do you have any evidence that Bulgaria is violating the embargo?

[Hurd] No. I am impressed with the way the Bulgarian customs authorities are guarding the Danube, and I am convinced that they are working just as well at the other border checkpoints. This is very important if we want to prevent the war from spreading.

[Reporter] In fact, Bulgaria is suffering financially from the war in Bosnia. How in practice might Bulgaria obtain compensation?

[Hurd] Through the different world financial organizations such as the IMF, the World Bank, and the big European banks, which should keep your losses in mind when they determine what aid to allocate to Bulgaria.

[Reporter] Are you disappointed to hear appeals for help and more money from all sides?

[Hurd] No, this is understandable. It is in Bulgaria's own interest to avoid a Balkan war, so that the success of the sanctions is also in Bulgaria's interest. It is sensible for the world community to bear in mind the losses that Bulgaria is bearing and to assess what help should be given to Bulgaria.

[Reporter] What will your position be in the UN Security Council on this issue?

[Hurd] It will depend not so much on the Security Council as on the IMF and the other financial institutions.

[Reporter] How long do you think the embargo will continue?

[Hurd] That depends on the Serbs. When they and the Bosnian Serbs change their policies, the embargo will be lifted, and we will resume trading and peaceful cooperation, including with Serbia, which is the greatest victim of the sanctions.

[Reporter] Following the Vance-Owen plan and the Washington plan, do you have any hope at all for a peaceful settlement of this war?

[Hurd] Indeed I do. Peace will come when the people who are fighting, especially the Serbs and the Bosnian Serbs, look ahead to their own future and see that they will not ensure themselves an acceptable future by military means.

[Reporter] Do you support lifting the arms embargo on the Bosnian Muslims?

[Hurd] It is difficult to do that without also arming the Croats. There are many difficulties, and in the Washington agreement this is neither included nor ruled out as a decision. I consider that we should concentrate on stopping the war, rather than simply arming others to go on fighting.

[Reporter] Why are you against the use of military force to halt the Serbian aggression?

[Hurd] I think that if anyone had developed military methods that might work quickly and effectively, then such actions would have been undertaken long ago. However, anyone who is familiar with the situation in Bosnia knows that military force will not provide either a speedy or a sure solution.

[Reporter] Apparently Europe cannot stop the war. How could this same Europe, with all its organizations, guarantee Bulgaria's security now.

[Hurd] The EC has never claimed to be a military organization or a security organization. It has never guaranteed that it can stop fighting outside its own borders. That would be very pretentious. What we can do is to draft a political arrangement and ideas for eventually solving the problems. Otherwise, many more people would have died in Bosnia and Croatia without our humanitarian efforts and without the deployment of the British, French, Spanish, and other units. We will try to exert pressure on the people responsible for the whole situation, to make them come to their senses. This is what we can do from outside, and we will continue to do this. It is in our interest to prevent a Balkan war, it is also in Bulgaria's interest; it is in our interest to stop the fighting in Bosnia as quickly as possible—that is also in your interest.

[Reporter] Do you believe that the war can still be stopped?

[Hurd] Of course, of course. The war cannot continue forever; it will continue until such time as those who are responsible for it—here I am thinking in particular of the Serbs and the Bosnian Serbs—realize that they cannot achieve their goals by this method.

[Reporter] Does this mean you are an optimist and believe that the peace process is possible?

[Hurd] No, I am pessimistic about the near future, but the day will come when people will come to their senses, and the war will stop.

[Reporter] You are departing for Skopje. Is a UN presence necessary to prevent the war from spreading to Macedonia?

[Hurd] A UN presence already exists. There are Italian and Scandinavian units there under UN command, and they are doing good work, but I will also discuss the

development of this issue with President Kiro Gligorov. Okay? Thank you very much.

Zhelev Signs Decree on Land Act Amendment

AU0406191093 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 4 Jun 93

[Text] President Zhelyu Zhelev signed a decree on publishing the Law on Amendments and Addenda to the Land Act which was adopted by the 36th National Assembly on 20 March.

In a letter to the National Assembly chairman, Zhelev says that the amendments and addenda to the Land Act do not affect the basic principle on restoring agricultural properties within their true boundaries.

In his letter the president draws attention to certain speculations with existing construction or construction on land within the construction limits of inhabited settlements and which violate present legislation.

Bikov Says Iran To Begin Repaying Debt

AU0306203593 Sofia BTA in English 1906 GMT 3 Jun 93

[Text] Sofia, June 3 (BTA)—Iran will shortly begin to repay its debt to Bulgaria, the press informs citing Bulgarian Minister of Industry Rumen Bikov who returned from a visit to Iran. In a few months' time Bulgaria will get back the 26 million dollars accumulated in result of outstanding payments and delayed letters of credit.

During Minister Bikov's visit—the first paid by a Bulgarian statesman to Iran since the beginning of the democratic changes in Bulgaria in November 1989, the sides discussed the Bulgarian positions in the Iranian market.

In Tehran Minister Bikov met the Iranian minister of the heavy industry, the ministers of transport and defence and the executives of Iran's Central Bank. The 11-member Bulgarian delegation included Deputy Minister of Industry Raycho Petrov, a representative of the Bulgarian Foreign Trade Bank, executives of Bulgarian companies and Anton Saldzhiyski, chief of the Kintex Armament-Trade Company. Some members of the Bulgarian delegation stayed in Iran to negotiate specific agreements and make arrangements for the visit of Iran's deputy foreign minister to Bulgaria. He is expected to arrive in Bulgaria on June 7.

BZNS, SDS Hold Antigovernment Rally

AU0406160193 Sofia ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME in Bulgarian 1 Jun 93 p 1

[Krum Dzhuninski report]

[Text] The district board of the BZNS [Bulgarian National Agrarian Union] and the Regional Coordinating Council of the SDS [Union of Democratic Forces] called for a joint protest rally in Vidin on 31 May. The rally took place in Bdintsi Square in almost continuous rain, but was attended by thousands of supporters of true democratic reforms in Bulgaria and a truly peaceful transition from totalitarianism to a new free society and market economy.

The participants unanimously demanded the resignation of the prime minister, dissolution of the National Assembly, and the called for early elections without delay.

Kiril Kirov, chairman of the BZNS District Board, addressed the crowd. "The peasants will get their land back within its real limits and will finally destroy communism in the country," he said. "No democracy can exist as long as the problem of land ownership is not properly cleared up."

Berov is carrying out the orders of the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party] at the head of a puppet government.

Former Defense Minister Aleksandur Staliyski declared that unity between the BZNS and SDS is needed now more than ever. Vidin will change from red to blue [color of SDS], otherwise we will have no future.

Nikodim Popov, honorary president of the BZNS Ruling Council, delivered sincere agrarian greetings.

SDS National Assembly Deputy Georgi Panev spoke at the rally, which was also attended by Petko Iliev, organizing secretary of the BZNS Permanent Board, Edvin Sugarev, Nikolay Khristov, Vekil Vanov, Emil Kapudaliev, and Aleksandur Staliyski.

The rally was followed by a full concert program in which the Vidin municipal brass band and the Dunav folk dance and song group participated.

BTA Profiles New Director General Gospodinov

AU0306123993 Sofia BTA in English 1212 GMT 3 Jun 93

[Excerpts] Sofia, June 3 (BTA)—Today the Council of Ministers dismissed Ivo Indzhev as BTA director general, the spokesman for the Council of Ministers announced. The government appointed Stefan Gospodinov as director general of BTA. [passage omitted]

Stefan Gospodinov was born in Shumen in 1936. He is a philology graduate of Sofia University. He is married and has three children.

Mr. Gospodinov has been working for BTA for 23 years. So far he has been editor-in-chief of the BTA International Relations, Marketing and Publicity Department and head of the Kurier Press Service.

He was expelled from the Young Communist League several times. In 1957, after the events in Hungary, he

was expelled from the university. A year later he was reinstated as a student. In 1968, following a long period of thorough vetting, he was admitted to membership of the Bulgarian Communist Party. In 1973 he was expelled from it as a "devious hostile element."

At present Mr. Gospodinov is not affiliated to any political party or organization.

National Board Approves Merging of Banks

AU0306203793 Sofia BTA in English 2008 GMT 3 Jun 93

[Text] Sofia, June 3 (BTA)—The Governing Board of the National Bank of Bulgaria (BNB) sanctioned today the merging of the following commercial banks: Agricultural and Cooperative Bank, Plovdiv, Blagoevgrad, Veliko Turnovo, Vitosha, Mezdra, Troyan and Chepelare into a new bank called Hebros Inc., based in the city of Plovdiv which will be the universal successor of the merged banks.

The Governing Board of the BNB also licensed the merging of the Commercial Banks Varna, Gotse Delchev, Transport Bank, Kyustendil, Smolyan, Rilbank, Vuzrazhdane, Razgrad, Cherven Bryag, Silistra, Devin and Provadiya to merge into a new bank named Expressbank based in the city of Varna which will be the universal successor of the merged banks.

Bank Board Explains Interest Rate Policy

AU0406091093 Sofia BTA in English 0759 GMT 4 Jun 93

[Mariana Barutchieva report]

[Text] Sofia, June 4 (BTA)—As of today the National Bank of Bulgaria (BNB) reduces the base interest rate from 51 to 48 percent. Last year the central bank changed the base interest rate four times and it ranged between 54 and 41 percent. On January 1, 1993 the base interest rate was raised to 47 percent, which was six points higher than in September 1992.

In February it was raised once again to 51 percent, the rise being motivated by the high inflation rate and prolonged pressure on the lev in the home market. With this rise the BNB sought to prevent a possible speculative leap in inflation brought about by higher fuel prices.

Then this rise was commented by representatives of the bank as aimed at encouraging personal savings which were threatened and as a means for limiting demand in credits. However, credits for production continued to be sought because the interest rate was still negative.

The interest rates on the banks' current accounts at the BNB were also raised by 2 points to 14 percent. The banks had to pay an interest of 18 percent on overdraft credits. The interests on old loans from the State Savings Bank remained unchanged.

The Governing Board of the BNB motivated the current decrease of the base interest rate with the easing of inflationary pressure in the past few months (the April inflation rate was 3.9 percent), the state of the interbank foreign exchange market, the tendency towards a drop in the interest rate on the interbank market and depreciation of the value of state bonds, the slower than expected growth of money in circulation, and seasonal factors.

And yet in the banking circles it is believed that inflationary pressure has not eased to an extent requiring a decrease in the interest rate. However, the BNB disagrees with this opinion citing two main reasons for its decision. First the inflation rate calculated through the change in the retail price index is not as important for the bank as the inflationary tendencies stemming from this country's economy. Secondly, the base interest rate and hence the interest on deposits are and will continue to be negative till the economy recovers. "Only then could we consider the possibility for making the base interest rate and the interest rates on the interbank market and deposits zero and positive," Mr. Lyubomir Filipov, member of the Governing Board of the National Bank of Bulgaria and head of the National Currency Operations Department, told BTA.

Amendment to Agricultural Property Law Approved

AU0406060193 Prague CTK in English 1854 GMT 1 Jun 93

[Text] Prague June 1 (CTK)—The Czech Parliament today approved a government bill amending Law No. 229/1991 on ownership of agricultural property.

The amendment was drafted with the intention of clearing up several points concerning the application of the June 1991 law. It is estimated that the law affects 3 million people.

The amendment will solve the problem of the transfer of land from one individual to another in connection with the sale of a building to which the land belongs.

It will also solve the problem of disagreements over soil reclamation. Currently, organizations giving up restituted lands are requesting from the new owner compensation for the deterioration of the property. The amendment considers soil care part of regular land maintenance and excludes compensation on this basis.

One of the greatest problems in restituting agricultural land is finding sufficient financial sources to pay for compensations. Minister of Agriculture Josef Lux has said it is inexcusable that compensation is not paid immediately on the basis of legal agreements when it is the state or a municipality giving up the land. The amendment solves the financial problems of municipalities and the state in such matters by drawing compensation from the property fund.

Government Eases VAT Burden for Businessmen

AU0406130993 Prague CTK in English 2044 GMT 2 Jun 93

[Text] Prague, June 2 (CTK)—At its special session today, the Czech cabinet approved a draft amendment to the 1992 Law on the Value Added Tax (VAT) and asked the parliament to shorten the time period for its discussion.

The amendment contains several changes aimed at easing the financial burden on private businessmen and at facilitating administrative regulations connected with tax payments. If approved, the amendment will take affect on July 1, 1993.

The government took notice of a report on the state of negotiations concerning the liquidation of the property of the former Council on Mutual Economic Cooperation (COMECON) and named Hugo Kysilka government commissioner to represent the Czech Republic at these talks as of October 31, 1993.

Socialist Party Holds Congress, Changes Name

AU0406113393 Prague CESKY DENIK in Czech 31 May 93 p 1

[Jiri Sindelar report: "From the Liberal Social Union Toward the Liberal Center; Pavel Hirs Elected Chairman of the Liberal National Social Party"]

[Text] The 26th Congress of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party [CSS] this weekend elected Pavel Hirs, the party's former central secretary, as party chairman and approved a change in the party's name to Liberal National Social Party [Liberalni strana narodne socialni]. Milan Kynicky, chairman of the party's Moravian land organization, was elected first deputy chairman. The Central Executive Committee of the Liberal National Social Party [LSNS] is to decide by the end of the year on whether the LSNS will leave the Liberal Social Union [LSU]. The new party chairman considers this step inevitable.

"We will try to unite all national social forces in the country and in exile," said Pavel Hirs in reply to a question about the party's first post-election steps. He added that the LSNS would invite all political parties of the center to join forces in a single party "with the aim of preventing the left, represented by the emerging Realistic Bloc [term proposed by Social Democratic Chairman Zeman for opposition bloc consisting of all opposition parties except the communist KSCM], from assuming power." According to him, the LSNS's closest partners are the Party of Entrepreneurs and Tradesmen and the Movement for Self-Governing Democracy of Moravia and Silesia. Pavel Hirs went on to say that, after leaving the LSU, the LSNS would set up a new club of deputies in parliament. "We assume that, initially, we will have a minimum of seven deputies," he said.

"The constructive variant has clearly prevailed at the congress," said former CSS Chairman Jiri Vyvadil, who was elected LSNS deputy chairman. In Vyvadil's opinion, the election of Milos Zeman as chairman of the Czech Social Democratic Party has created wide scope for a party of the center. "Were it not for Zeman, we would have problems," he stressed when commenting on the party's electoral prospects.

The other candidates for party chairman, apart from Hirs, were former chairman Ladislav Dvorak, deputy Jiri Vyvadil, and Milan Adam. The candidacy of Jiri Holub, former Czechoslovak ambassador to Italy, was declared invalid because he did not meet the condition of a five-year uninterrupted membership of the party and Blanka Hykova, another proposed candidate, had withdrawn her candidacy on the ground of what she termed the irregular course of the congress. She called on delegates dissatisfied with the course of the congress and all members advocating the preservation of the party's socialist identity not to leave the party but to consider the establishment of a socialist club within the LSNS.

[Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech on 1 June on page 6 carries a 1,000-word Petr Novacek article on the above congress, which mentions that the congress elected Milan Kynicky, Jiri Vyvadil, Bela Hejna, and Frantisek Postl as LSNS deputy chairmen and Kristina Sokolova as LSNS central secretary; all of them are said to be "Hirs's people."]

LSNS Parliamentary Group Formed

AU0306200893 Prague CTK in English 2051 GMT 1 Jun 93

[Text] Prague [no dateline as received]—A new parliamentary group of the Liberal National Social Party (LSNS) started work in the Czech Parliament's Chamber of Deputies today, group member Vitezslav Valach told CTK today.

He said that all members of the former parliamentary group of the Free Liberals (KSL)—Jiri Vyvadil, Pavel Hirs, Eva Matouskova, Pavel Kulicka and Vitezslav Valach—have joined the new formation.

LSNS Chairman Pavel Hirs told deputies that his party would be on guard against a relapse into a totalitarian regime under any guise. He characterised the LSNS as an opposition party whose criticism would not strive to hamper or derail the country's development.

Hirs said the LSNS rejected the tearing apart everything proposed by the government.

Looking back on the period of 1948-1989, he said that the Czechoslovak Socialist Party (CSS, the LSNS's predecessor—ed.) was only allowed to work under the disgraceful conditions within the communist-controlled National Front.

Hirs on Possible Departure From LSU

AU0406155493 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 2 Jun 92 p 2

[Interview with Pavel Hirs, chairman of the Liberal National Social Party, by Petr Novacek; place and date not given: "The Analysis of the Activity of the Liberal Social Union May Decide Our Departure, Pavel Hirs Says"]

[Text] The Liberal National Social Party (LSNS) will establish a commission next week which will conduct an analysis of the program and practical policy of the Liberal Social Union [LSU] after the elections. A decision will be on made whether the LSNS will leave the union, or remain in it. This issue must be solved before the school vacations. This is what the newly elected LSNS chairman, Pavel Hirs, said in an interview for MLADA FRONTA DNES.

[Novacek] Why do you not try to reform the LSU?

[Hirs] We tried to assert our ideas and to reform the LSU, but the result was our expulsion from the LSU club of deputies. This is reminiscent of the pre-November methods.

[Novacek] Let us suppose you leave the LSU. This could also be understood as cheating the voters. You run on the joint LSU list of candidates, and not for the Czechoslovak Socialist Party alone.

[Hirs] The opposite is true. If we find out that the LSU has deviated from its election program, then we would protect voters' interests by leaving the party since we want to stick with the program. Voters who voted for the LSU voted for this program, and therefore for our party, too.

[Novacek] The LSNS Congress recommended that five of your deputies establish an independent parliamentary club. Will you also invite to this club three of Sladek's republicans who are members, together with you, of the club of independent deputies?

[Hirs] An independent club of deputies will become a possibility after we decide to leave the LSU. We will offer membership to former republicans in our party. If they reject it, then a joint club of the LSNS and independent deputies will become a possibility.

[Novacek] With what political entities does the LSNS want to cooperate?

[Hirs] In parliament, we are already representing interests of Baranek's Party of Czech Entrepreneurs, Tradesmen, and Farmers. I have had several discussions with Jan Krycer, chairman of the Movement for Self-Governing Democracy - Society for Moravia and Silesia. Now, after the congress in Sec, I hope there will be close cooperation between both entities. I believe we will succeed in creating an alliance of centrist parties.

[Novacek] Are you going to leave the Civic Movement?

[Hirs] We would welcome some Civic Movement representatives. I have not discussed with Civic Movement representatives, but I would like to do so in the near future.

[Novacek] Your proclaimed liberalism is repelling many of your members. Some of them are indicating that they might leave the party. On the corridors of your party central, they even speak about the departure of former Czechoslovak Socialist Party, Kucera and Dvorak.

[Hirs] If there is someone who wants to split the party, then they are leftist socialists, who were giving our party the resemblance to the National Front.

[Novacek] Are you going to take steps against them?

[Hirs] Of course, I would be glad if the left-oriented members established an opinion stream within the LSNS. If they exert pressure, however, and develop

faction-type and destructive activity, then we will proceed decisively. In an extreme case, their membership can be abolished, according to status.

Accord Signed With EC on Steel Export Quotas

AU0306095893 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 31 May 93 p 16

[CTK Brussels dispatch: "Export of Our Steel to the EC"]

[Text] Brussels— An accord on the export of some steel products from the Czech Republic to the countries of the European Community was signed in BrusseLs on Friday [28 May]. The accord, which has the form of a decision by a Joint Committee of the EC, the Czech Republic, and the Slovak Republic, will go into effect on 1 June 1993 and will remain in force until the end of 1995.

At the same time it was decided that the EC would take the necessary steps to terminate the anti-dumping proceedings regarding imports of seamless tubes from the Czech Republic that were initiated in November 1992.

The accord introduces so-called tariff quotas for the export of five types of steel products from the Czech Republic—cold-rolled sheets, rolled wire, hot-rolled strips, seamless tubes, and welded tubes. A minimum customs duty in line with the Provisional Agreement on Trade and Trade-Related Issues will apply to exports up to the set quota. Exports above the set ceiling are possible but the Czech exporter must reckon with a prohibitive duty of 30 percent. The accord concerns only direct exports.

The Ministry of Trade and Industry will start issuing export licenses to exporters from the Czech Republic in June. Exports without a license are possible but it is necessary to reckon with the payment of both the basic duty and the prohibitive duty in that case. The year 1991 was used as a base in setting the tariff quotas.

Central Bank Governor Outlines Policy, Concerns

AU0406061493 Prague CTK in English 1156 GMT 1 Jun 93

[Text] Prague June 1 (CTK)—No catastrophic forecasts came true, as most Czech citizens are conservative, saving and trust the Czech currency, the governor of the Czech National Bank (CNB), Josef Tosovsky, said in an interview with the latest issue of the Czech political weekly RESPEKT.

During the separation of the Czech and Slovak currencies, most Czechs deposited their money with banks, Tosovsky said.

The fears of a large budget deficit due to tax evasion in connection with the new tax system (introduced on January 1—ed.) did not materialise, he added.

Tosovsky is opposed to the differing rates of taxation on interests (15 percent) and certificates of deposit (25 percent). We demanded unification but our demands fell on deaf ears, he said.

The CNB tries to keep inflation under 20 percent, although some price jumps, such as those in telecommunications, hire, and transport are still ahead, he said.

Asked on the payment of the 24.7 billion crowns (800 million USD) Slovak debt to the Czech Republic, which resulted from the division of the former Czechoslovak State Bank, Tosovsky said that the current Slovak Government had not shown its will to pay it although it did not cast doubt on the amount any longer.

We proposed to the Slovak Government to spread the payments over ten years, but we have not received any answer yet, Tosovsky added.

On RESPEKT's suggestion to cancel the debt, Tosovsky remarked that it would imply writing off the total CNB's annual profit (2.5 billion crowns, i.e. 80 million USD) during a ten-year period which would substantially lower the state's revenues.

The deficit of the trade balance in the first three months of 1993 is not a source of concern, as it is only small—100 million USD—and it is covered by other revenues, said Tosovsky.

But it is still necessary to introduce an export-promoting scheme, which has been considered already in a ministers' session, he added.

Tosovsky is concerned about the consequences of the large pay increases recorded in 1993. This could stimulate demand, while our economy is not yet able to react to it. Due to this, an increase in prices and imports of consumer goods might follow, he stated.

We are also afraid of the growing costs of the companies, which may result in the pressure on the foreign currency exchange rate, Tosovsky said.

On the mid-May visit by chairman of the US Federal Reserve system, Alan Greenspan, Tosovsky said that Greenspan accepted his personal invitation though he travels only rarely. This proves great professional interest in our developments, Tosovsky added.

Greenspan said that the 20-percent decline in GDP in 1991 and 1992 as reported by statisticians was a complete nonsense because the unemployment figures (about 3 percent, eds.) are not in line with it at all.

Current statistics in the Czech Republic is not yet able to record the whole of the economic reality, in particular the change of its quality, Tosovsky said.

Budget Surplus of 4.8 Billion Korunas in May

LD0306142793 Prague CTK in English 1348 GMT 3 Jun 93

[Text] Prague, June 3 (CTK)—The Czech state budget recorded a 4.8 billion crown (160 million USD) surplus in May, which proves that its sound development continues in spite of large pressures on additional expenditures, Czech Deputy Premier and Finance Minister Ivan Kocarnik told a press conference today.

The revenues planned for the whole year have reached 43.7 per cent at the end of May, amounting to 149.7 billion crowns (5 billion USD). The expenditures made up 144.9 billion crowns (4.9 billion USD) which is 42.3 per cent of the amount planned for the whole year.

The assumed monthly receipts from the value added tax (VAT) declined in May by some 2 billion crowns (65 million USD). But on Wednesday, 2.3 billion crowns (75 million USD) from the VAT were added to the budget account. This money undoubtedly refers to May and was delayed by accounting, said Kocarnik. The original concern was dissipated, he noted.

Expenditures on state special social allowances and on the employment policy have amounted to 32 per cent, expenditure on social security to 38.7 per cent, local budgets subsidies (granted with some advance) to 58.2 per cent, and contribution to the general health insurance to 49.6 per cent of the planned annual budget.

The heat subsidies have unfortunately spent 79 per cent of the assumed annual sum. But it is not possible to abolish for a short-time the heat subsidy, and the planned sum will be increased, said Kocarnik and added that the whole system of subsidies would be revised. But he did not dare to forecast whether the prices of heat would be changed by the end of the year.

The largest pressure on additional expenditures have come from the Czech Railways Company and the Ministry of the Interior. But I do not think that the lack of financial means causes the high crime. The solution is to free the policemen from administrative tasks so that they can patrol the streets instead of sitting in offices, said Kocarnik.

Additional expenditures are possible only after thorough analyses are made. Drawing money from the state budget is over, he stressed.

Army Commissions Begin Special Screenings

AU0206203893 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 1 Jun 93 p 2

["(jem)"-signed report: "The Special Army Screenings Begin Today"]

[Text] Prague—Special screenings involving career soldiers begin in the Army today. Military functionaries appointed by the president of the Republic will be screened first. Any officer who does not perform well in these screenings may be, in accordance with an order issued by the defense minister, removed from his post or released from the Army.

Nevertheless, 10,000 career soldiers—regardless of the results of the screenings—must leave the Armed Forces. This is because of the planned 33 percent reduction in the size of the Army, which should be completed within two years.

Officers of all ranks will be assessed by a three-member commission made up of two senior officers and one soldier of the same rank as the officer being screened. In essence, the task of this commission member will be to defend the interests of the officer being screened. Defense Minister Antonin Baudys has said that if the screenings are at least 40 percent objective, then it will be possible to consider them a success.

The commission will determine whether an individual career soldier's education and experience correspond to the Army's needs. The officer's morals and character will also be assessed on the basis of his personnel record. His state of health and—after a series of exercises—his physical fitness and qualifications for serving in the Armed Forces will also be assessed. A half-hour conversation between the officer and the commission will form part of the assessment.

The special screenings involving career soldiers should be completed by 14 January next year.

Meciar Views Czech Request on Border Crossings

LD0406142793 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1000 GMT 4 Jun 93

[Text] A report about a letter from [Czech] Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus regarding the common border between the Czech and Slovak Republics was issued when Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar was in central Slovakia. We tried yesterday to find out his stance on the mentioned letter from the Czech government. Jarmila Tosecka was successful today and asked Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar in Banska Bystrica the following question:

[Begin recording] [Tosecka] What is or will be your answer to the appeal to the Slovak side to agree without delay to the agreement on border crossings?

[Meciar] First of all, I would like to deny all the reports saying that Slovakia should do so without delay and immediately. There is nothing of that sort in the letter from Mr. Klaus. The letter is polite and in line with the principles of intergovernmental relations. The problem Mr Klaus outlines is undoubtedly serious. To be able to give a qualified answer, the stance of both partners must be discussed in the government. Moreover, the Czech side has certain ideas in mind which I do not know about.

Naturally, such a serious step also requires taking into account the broader European political context as well as the interests of the citizens of the two republics. We did not and do not want impenetrable borders for our citizens. We would welcome it if the Czech side took some facilitating steps which would strengthen the mutual trust between us as partners. What I have in mind are steps connected with the handing over of the gold that belongs to the Slovak Republic. [end recording]

Moravcik Awaits Czech Decision on Border Regime

LD0406125093 Prague CTK in English 1223 GMT 4 Jun 93

[Text] Bratislava, June 4 (CTK)—It is up to the Czechs whether or not they will introduce a standard international regime on their side of the Slovak-Czech border, Slovak Foreign Minister Jozef Moravcik said today.

If the regime affects only citizens from third countries, and not tourism between the Czech and Slovak Republics, Slovakia will not be opposed to it, he added.

The Czech Republic insists on having a standard international border with Slovakia in order to hold back an influx of illegal immigrants coming from the former Yugoslavia, the former Soviet Union and other south European and Asian countries via Slovakia.

This is the more so important that Germany is pressing on the Czech Republic to sign an agreement on readmission of refugees entering Germany from the Czech territory.

Meciar on 'Negative' Aspects of Federal Split

LD0306230693 Prague CTK in English 1942 GMT 3 Jun 93

[Text] Zvolen, July 3 (CTK)—The negative part of the economic reform in the former Czechoslovakia was designed to take place in Slovakia, Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar said at a meeting with representatives of local government from the Zvolen (central Slovakia) district today.

Slovakia is still trying to get over it, he said.

The negative aspects of the split are now beginning to be felt in the Czech Republic, where things are changing and by the end of the year, we will see people talking quite differently there, Meciar said.

Already the Czechs are talking with the Sudeten Germans, Meciar maintained. I am not saying that the government is negotiating, but the coalition parties are, Meciar said.

Turning to Slovakia, he said that the operation of writing off companies' debts is particularly risky but one that Slovakia has to undertake.

Japan, China and some Arab states want to invest in Slovakia and have submitted interesting projects, Meciar said.

Slovakia's regions must have more authority, he said, criticising that 67 per cent of foreign investments goes to Bratislava, 11 per cent to central Slovakia and 7 per cent to eastern Slovakia.

The Slovak Government is proposing the division of Slovakia into 7 regions, Meciar said.

I see no reason why an east-west region with its seat in Komarno (south Slovakia), as Hungarian Slovaks request, should not be created, Meciar added.

Kovac Appeals to Intelligentsia for Unity

AU0406140693 Bratislava REPUBLIKA in Slovak 31 May 93 p 3

[President Michal Kovac's Speech delivered at the 3rd Congress of Slovak Intelligentsia in Presov on 28 May: "Our Intelligentsia Should Be Slovakia's Open Window to the World"]

[Text] You have contributed to this Congress of Slovak Intelligentsia that is taking place in the free and sovereign Slovak Republic. It was precisely you, the Slovak intellectuals, who, at the first congress in Donovaly, pointed out a feasible way out of the state legal disputes

in the former Czechoslovakia, and expressed your undivided support for the idea of attaining the state sovereignty of the Slovak Republic. Time has proved you right and thereby vindicated your names, which at the time were unjustly disgraced and derogated.

Even today, endeavors are being made to debase Slovakia. Thus, Slovakia has reached the most difficult year of its existence—year one. Nevertheless, already in the first year of its maturity, it must answer an almost Hamlet-type question: Should we build our own house and manage it reasonably, or enter into the service of our richer neighbors?

The Slovak intelligentsia made its unequivocal decision for the first alternative—to build our own home, our own state—as early as at the Donovaly congress. So, what is the place of the intelligentsia in the construction of our house? The great French scholar Voltaire wrote: Intelligence is not only the ability to detect and perceive, but also to conceive, work out, and analyze. No individual today can encompass everything that surrounds us. Therefore, it is useful to form groups of people, teams of experts from various fields. Associated in organizations such as the Congress of Slovak Intelligentsia, we can much more quickly find the right way out of the burning problems of the day.

It has become a tradition to expect a Slovak intellectual to be some kind of a standard-bearer, one who stands on the barricades with outstretched arms—in a combative pose—dedicated to the struggle for an idea and the truth. The Slovak intellectual is supposed to be the fairest judge. Nobody, not even the Slovak intelligentsia, can be forced to accept proffered posts, for instance, or stand for election, or carry out "cultural missions" throughout Slovakia, but every Slovak intellectual should have immense appreciation for the fact that we finally have our own statehood. The value of own statehood must penetrate deep into the consciousness of our people, regardless of their creed or nationality, as a historical and irreversible fact. If this creed merely lingers in the hearts and minds of the intelligentsia and never penetrates to all our people, it will encourage predators to go for the throat of a weakened and internally divided nation, and prove with a definite validity that it has never had, and never will have any claim to its own state.

We are certainly all sorry that even now, five months after the declaration of sovereignty of the Slovak Republic, our society is engaged in controversies, and divided into supporters and adversaries of our statehood. In this context, the integrating role of the Slovak intelligentsia has assumed importance, as has the incessant search for synergy and understanding between the two camps. For the Slovak intelligentsia to play this historic role, I consider it inevitable that, as soon as possible, the community of the Slovak intelligentsia itself will integrate into the spirit of understanding and fellowship. History provides tragic evidence of numerous instances of misconceptions of endeavors for integration and understanding. The shooting of a member of parliament during the siege of Budapest, as he came to negotiate in the hope of saving thousands of human lives and the city, can serve as an example. In this tumultuous time, the Slovak intelligentsia, too, should come with the white flag and try to save something. This "something" is the most delicate commodity, human dignity. I address this appeal to all of you, who, within the framework of "democracy" and the struggle for political and personal power, have shifted your orientation from intellectual work to shooting negotiators. This, which has broken loose and has taken a usurious grip on our society, acts particularly destructively among groups of writers, poets, painters, actors, graphic artists, historians, linguists, economists.... Instead of creative work, many have derived satisfaction from devastation and destruction, and unfortunately the destruction of the human, preferably their fellow's, creative spirit and civic honor.

Therefore, I appeal to all those who thirst for the spiritual blood of their creative fellows. Let us stop this—it makes no sense! After all, inside even the most vicious sniper, there is a man with a suffering soul. It is a great pity to see each instance of the disintegration of each Slovak intellectual, his reason and talent. Perhaps it is you who Slovakia needs more than anyone else!

It is obvious to the Slovak intelligentsia that we Slovaks, who are finally living in our own state structure, must talk about the life of Europe and the world, for we are one of its components. It is our duty because, owing to our small number, we may perceive and experience more intensely the reality on which others, more powerful, decide. We must do so to show the world that we are here.... I would like it if our intelligentsia were Slovakia's open window to the world, but also the world's window to Slovakia.

We have plenty to show the world: Our culture, science, and technology can enrich the world, and the world can enrich us. We must not, however, close ourselves up in our studies and clubs, for information from the world must be disseminated among the people in towns and villages and, conversely, our voice must also be heard. This is the only way to achieve the ideal symbiosis of a secularized society. We have to show outside that we respect and honor our republic. As we respect the republic, so will the world respect us. There is a very demanding time ahead for the Slovak intelligentsia, but I am convinced that in healthy unity we will also successfully complete this stage of the building of the state.

Defense Minister Andrejcak Views State of Army

AU0406163293 Bratislava REPUBLIKA in Slovak 1 Jun 93 pp 8-9

[Interview with Defense Minister Imrich Andrejcak by Roman Kalisky and Drahoslav Machala; place and date not given: "Slovakia Can Rely on Its Army"]

[Text] [REPUBLIKA] Sir, the Slovak Army cannot be seen anywhere. We have lost sight of it, as it were. Many people are saying that they would feel more secure, and even more proud, if they saw our soldiers in uniform in the streets. This is a noteworthy sign that the civilian population has a good attitude toward the Army. Our question is: Where is the Slovak Army, and, is it deployed in accordance with our needs for the protection of the borders and the Slovak Republic itself?

[Andrejcak] The opinion of the public that they should be able to see the Army is understandable. The law states that professional soldiers should wear civilian dress while off duty. However, they wear civilian dress when on official trips, and their commanders allow that. I admit, I am against this trend. Even the soldiers doing basic military military service are allowed to wear civilian dress while off duty. We will soon bring this matter up with the president, who is the supreme commander of the Army. It will have to be decided whether to abolish it, or leave it as it is. In the Army, there are differing opinions on this matter. There are countries, such as Germany, where soldiers wear civilian dress. Even the regulations are so advantageous that they state that soldiers should serve close to their homes, and military education prepares them to defend their homes.

However, the introduction of civilian dress has not brought the results we expected. Our benevolence has brought a higher military crime rate. Boys come to the barracks in cars, they park them somewhere in a corner. Their cars are often robbed, and they themselves commit crimes. They even steal the Army's gasoline, not only for themselves, but for their friends, too. In general, the middle-age and the older generation do not like this benevolence. I must agree with them. People want to see that, finally, they have their own army, the army of an independent and free country! Unfortunately, young people do not have this attitude. The middle-age and older generation have adopted this attitude, if for no other reason than because they are more experienced and farsighted. I am convinced that soldiers in uniform in the streets are not a step backward but, on the contrary, a step toward national awareness. Each and every one of us has his rights in his own country, but he also has his obligations, particularly in this complicated period of formation. Military service is definitely one of them.

[REPUBLIKA] Sometimes it looks as if there has been some kind of demilitarization of the Army under your ministry. We are dealing with shorter military service, a thrift budget, and we also are considering personnel cuts in the Army.

[Andrejcak] This is a very interesting opinion.... First, my budget was fixed by law. I am trying to do all I can to make ends meet. I am convinced that now we do not have the moral right to ask for funds at the expense of health care, education, or science. We have a certain chance to earn some money: to sell some technology and material we do not need. I know that soldiers are unable to do it themselves, but we must look for companies who would be able to do it. Fortunately, I discovered experts who have drafted a concept, a relatively simple one, to get this thing moving while respecting the Slovak Republic Government's decision on awarding licenses.

It is true that I suggested that military service be cut to 12 months. Not so long ago, we had two-year military service and we taught soldiers a lot. We had six-month's training for noncommissioned officers, while west of our borders, that training is substantially shorter. Americans train their soldiers in eight weeks, then they have special training for four weeks, and professionals able to serve directly in combat regions are brought up.

[REPUBLIKA] Is that not linked to the fact that these armies are better equipped technologically?

[Andrejcak] This is only a part of the reason. We too, have some military technology that compares with the world's best, and in some cases, we have even better technology. Our bridge tank [mostny tank] has top parameters. We have quite good rocket launchers, whose range is comparable with that of NATO's armies. We are even able to extend their range. I even think we could sell rocket launchers in the very near future.

In relation to the number of our residents we have too many soldiers, but not all of them are fit for service. For example, in the American Army, a soldiers is a soldier, or he is not recruited at all. In our Army, we recruit everyone.... Regulations are benevolent, since we recruit various sick people for service. On the other hand, these regulations are very strict, more strict than in Germany, since they say whether the soldiers are able or run or not, or whether they can be members of a military guard or not. We must change this, we should have soldiers in combat units, above all. This is where quality soldiers should be—stokers and operators of serious equipment, for instance, in the construction and services should be legally replaced by civilian employees. In the U.S. Army, even kitchens are private, and our kitchens are full of soldiers, in conformity with military regulations. Our combat units are relatively as strong as those in Western armies. So, if we cut basic military service and replace some soldiers by civilians, we will not weaken the combat units.

[REPUBLIKA] Let us return to the first question. In the last sentence we asked whether the deployment of the Army meets the needs of defense of the state.

[Andrejcak] With some exceptions, yes. Despite the fact that we had to move into emergency areas [nudzovy prostor], we have topped up the number of soldiers in some divisions to make them combat ready. We can deploy the Air Force only where we have airports. Their number is so small that it is absolutely irrelevant where they are deployed. Before an attack, they would have to fly to another airport, anyway. Since we do not have many possibilities today, we have to evaluate where to prepare reserves and then we have to fly there immediately. So far, we have some equipment in emergency areas but this is a problem that will persist for a certain

period of time. If you take into consideration that we have the strongest division of former Czechoslovakia deployed in west Slovakia, which covers half of Slovakia, and, separated by the Lower Tatras mountains, we have the second strongest division deployed in east Slovakia, then we do not have to deploy another division on the Tatras mountains. The matter is clear, as regards the ground forces, and I have explained the problem with the Air Force. Other elements depend on the situation. In no case does it affect the combat ability of the Slovak Army! During mobilization, units would be redeployed and would assume an operational position. [operacna sostava] We must be able to defend ourselves from all sides!

[REPUBLIKA] What is your experience with cooperation with city mayors. We have heard that some of them do not want to have airports close to their cities, others are vexing you with the problem of privately owned forests. What attitude should representatives of localities, and Slovak citizens, adopt, in your opinion as defense minister?

[Andrejcak] This is a more complicated problem than it would seem. The Army classified everything, even things that all small children knew about in the vicinity of the garrisons. Several years ago, if a commander said that he commande the 60th tank regiment, he could expect to be dismissed. He was expected to conceal this, and say there was a command of a military unit, but every schoolboy knew that the 60th tank regiment was there. In Presov, no civilian said there was a military command, but a division. So, we all knew everything but pretended it was classified. Even those concrete, nontransparent fences around the barracks led the people to think that the Army was something imaginary. They began to doubt: Is this really the people's Army if they like so much to be separated? I am happy that mistrust in the Army is fading and disappearing. I must say the attitude toward the Army has always been better in Slovakia than in Bohemia. Now, when we have begun to make the Army more open, when we talk publicly about their numbers (since we have to report it in the UN), our people are learning that this Army of ours is quite a regular army, posing no threat to people. Maybe, it is just because of that that they miss uniformed soldiers in the streets. When they suspected the Army of something nefarious, there were a lot of uniforms in the streets. Now, when we have accepted the fact that it is our Slovak Army, then, suddenly, we do not see them here. Soldiers of the Slovak Army should be proud of the fact that they are serving in the Army in such a historic time.

City mayors are not chasing us out from anywhere. The thing is to consider the situation of the Army and apply the criteria of justice. Not so long ago, I was present at a meeting of city mayors in the Zahorie region. I said openly: I am convinced that cities and villages that meet the army half way, deserve relief from the state. This is quite usual in the world. We should find ways to compensate for our "visit" where planes are fly overhead and children and the elderly are disturbed. Two years ago, there was a fuss about the way the government should compensate people endangered by the noise from airports. They allocated 9 million korunas, and gave them to one village to build a water supply system. This was not even the village in which the noise was the most intense....

I gave orders to the Air Force commander to draw up a way and principles for cooperating with towns and villages that have to put up with the presence of the army during exercises. The finance minister, too, agrees—yes, I am willing to think about it, just suggest a specific solution, he said.

On the other hand, the presence of the Army close to villages is more positive than negative. For example, Norwegian towns and cities are directly trying to prevent military units from leaving their vicinity. Even in Germany, they have discovered that if the Americans cut the number of their troops, it would have a negative impact on the economy of the towns.

The problem with the forests is a different one. Our dispute with Mr. Vdovjak has lasted for three years. He is a mayor, and one member of his family is the chairman of the Association of Villages, which owned forests in the Javorina region. It was in 1952, when the state bought property cheaply from private people. In fact, the state nationalized the property of villages. In a short time, monetary reform followed in 1953, and people lost not only their forests, but their money, too. Law No. 306 of the National Council of the Slovak Republic defines who is entitled to restitution of land. Despite the fact that the sale was forced by the state, we cannot return this property to people immediately. If a court decides, we will give private owners substitute land and forests, or financial compensation. Or, we can make an agreement on a long-term lease arrangement.

[REPUBLIKA] Every army builds on its own traditions and tries to preserve them.... What traditions will the Slovak Army build, and where are its sources?

[Andrejcak] I must admit, we were haunted by quite prosaic problems—how to divide the Federal Army, its equipment, ammunition, and weapons. The issue—to which you point in your question and which is intended to raise the self-awareness of the Slovak Army—has been somewhat neglected. I am very anxious to see the Slovak Army built on patriotic and democratic traditions. We have reached the conclusion that we would build the Slovak Army's traditions on those established in Hurban volunteer troops in the revolutionary years of 1848-1849. The day of 19 December 1848, when the Slovak National Council was established under the chairmanship of Jozef Miloslav Hurban, Stur, and Hodza, could become a good starting point for establishing Army Day. We have several scientists in the Military Historical Institute whom I have given the task of working on this problem.

[REPUBLIKA] Commanders of military units should be interested in their milieu and look for military traditions. We not only have the symbol of General Milan

Rastislav Stefanik, but also that of pilot Ota Smik, a top Royal Air Force pilot. This would be a natural thing regarding the country whose soldier I am and which I should defend in case of danger.

[Andrejcak] This is what has been done already. We spoke with older soldiers and pensioners. When I was commander of a military district, they used to ask me to whom should we build memorials and where. Then, it subsided a little. I wholeheartedly agree that we will have to build on local traditions regarding the Army. Of course, here at the Defense Ministry, we are cooperating closely with military historians, publicists, and, of course, with the Slovak Heritage Foundation. We would like to use the name of Captain Stefanovic or Janko Francisi, or event the revolutionary poet Janko Kral, who, jointly with teacher Jan Rotarides, spread revolutionary ideas in southern Slovakia.

Of course, we must also build on more modern traditions from World War II, from the times of the antifascist resistance. It was exactly in the aircraft Meciar used when he flew to the United States recently that we sent a uniform for General Ambrus, who lives there, who has been rehabilitated and has become a colonel general, but who does not have a uniform.

[REPUBLIKA] Previously, we had instructors in the Army who provided education and patriotic education for soldiers. What is the situation today? As recently as December 1992, students from Zilina were calling us, complaining that they had to read Czech papers, books, and booklets. Has anything changed?

[Andrejcak] I understand you. We have to adopt an operative solution, that is, we have to operatively change 1,600 military regulations that are mostly in Czech, and all public documents. Then, we will have to draft new documents for internal use in the Army. Regarding those instructors—as you called them—we have to take a very considerate approach, since they must not become new political instructors who would cram other people's heads with wisdom, or suggest certain viewpoints to them. They will be involved in developing a positive attitude among our soldiers toward our country, native Slovakia, and sovereign state.

[REPUBLIKA] We have a book here in which the existing Army Bill is published. Yes, of course, this is a federal law.... In front, there is a chapter called The Military Doctrine of the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic. It is written here that it is important for the neighbors and neighboring countries to develop confidence to such an extent as to exclude military solutions to problems. We are interested in the following: Are we working on something we could call the Slovak Military Doctrine? Or, will the Army wait until there is a general political doctrine, including foreign policy, of course, from which the military doctrine would be derived?

[Andrejcak] I said that the military doctrine is a part of the overall doctrine of an independent state. The thing is, how to overcome crisis situations with the little money we have. The basic principles, drafted by experts, are classified, of course. They have been drafted and I will present the Operational Plan of the Slovak Republic Army to the president shortly. It is a difficult job. Apart from this, in various countries, documents are being drafted, which are then presented in parliaments, but they apply only to those matters that can be discussed publicly. They declare a certain orientation of the country. Such a document appeared in the Slovak Republic at the beginning of January 1993. The principles were explained by the prime minister at the Defense Ministry and then at the Slovak Republic Army Command in Trencin. There are principles in which we differ from other states, and rules governing our behavior toward them. I have put it in layman's terms. On the basis of these principles, we drafted a Thesis on Slovakia's Defense Doctrine. We will have a seminar on this subject, in which members of parliamentary clubs of the National Council of the Slovak Republic will participate. After that, if we hear some inspirational ideas, we will present this document to the National Council of the Slovak Republic. This is a very important concept, since we are going to use it during international talks to show that it is not our intention to attack anyone.

[REPUBLIKA] We consider the issue of the official language in the Slovak Army to be very important. According to the said Federal Army Bill, Czech, Slovak, and even other languages are allowed. If we accept this, our Army will never be able to communicate internally. You know the saying: Without communication there is no command.

[Andrejcak] The commanding language in the Slovak Army is, unequivocally, Slovak! I want to add something and ask for understanding and tolerance. In our Army, 90 percent of Czech soldiers did not return to the Czech Republic as of 31 March. All their commanders agreed to that. They could have told them at the time: You are such and such, we have no need of you.... Conversely, 90 percent of Slovak soldiers remained in the Czech Republic. Look, we do not want to bring the situation to a head—the situation which is being "improved" by reporters from MLADA FRONTA DNES and LIDOVE NOVINY every day—and to force the Czechs to speak Slovak. There is the question of tact. We do not want to force the issue. Some of them already speak Slovak. The Slovak language is defined as the official language in the Constitution. However, no one can prevent Czechs from speaking Czech among themselves, or Hungarians from speaking Hungarian. This is a different matter. Issuing commands, however, must be done in Slovak, of course. I will not argue about this at all!

[REPUBLIKA] Is there a difference between the languages used for business and for commands?

[Andrejcak] I can assure that you will find no official documents in the Czech language at our ministry. The staff has become so familiar with this that they understand it as respect for the official language.

[REPUBLIKA] In the Slovak Republic, the Federal Army Bill of 1992 is still valid. The question is: Are we drafting, in our country, a new army bill of our own? In the federal bill, there is, for instance, the following sentence: "The obligation of the Armed Forces of the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic is to fight for independence, territorial integrity, the sovereignty of the state, and constitutional order.... and to fulfill the tasks ensuing from obligations towards our allies." As long as we do not have our own army bill, do we have to understand that it is our duty to "fight for independence, unity, and territorial integrity of the Slovak Republic?"

[Andrejcak] In the legislative plan of the Slovak Republic Government there is included an amendment to the Army Bill. For now, we are governed by the principle that the word Czechoslovak in the Army Bill is replaced by the word Slovak, of course. If we have no allies, we can fulfill no obligations toward them, of course. This is why we are suggesting that a brand new, good, and quality bill on the defense of the Slovak Republic be drafted, and also a bill on conscription, rather than partial amendments.

[REPUBLIKA] Where will the Slovak West Point be located? That is, a place where top Slovak officers—who would become the pride of our Army—would be trained? We are also interested in the Defense Ministry's opinion on awarding decorations. How are we going to make use of names such as Pribina or Svatopluk? People would like to identify themselves with the basic values of Slovak history.

[Andrejcak] There will be a West Point in Slovakia, if 90 percent of officers are trained in civilian schools. Only 10 percent of U.S. officers are trained at West Point. This is why it is a prestigious place. We want to have Slovak military academy, and we are looking for a descriptive name for it. At present, we are beginning to transform our military training system. Our principle is that all grades one and two, except for the Air Force, will be moved to Liptovsky Mikulas. Grades three and four will remain in the schools where they are, with the exception of the Advanced Military School of Pedagogy, and one high school. Some students may study at civilian schools, and there are plenty of university faculties in Bratislava.

In the future, there may even be two academies, or one academy and one faculty, or a training center, which will not fit in Liptovsky Mikulas. It may be more economical to have some training in Martin, since it is less expensive there. No matter where the place is, it is necessary to go at least 60 kilometers to the training grounds. In Martin, this distance is nine kilometers. This is why the training grounds in Martin must stay in place. The city of Lest is not suitable for training for various reasons. Only tactical training can be done there. It cannot be built from scratch. This is the same case as in the Javorina training grounds. Will Slovakia have 4 or 5 billion [currency not specified] to build it elsewhere? So, the Slovak West Point will be in Liptovsky Mikulas.

[REPUBLIKA] Does the Slovak Army have a General Staff, and a General Staff Commander? Does it have a developed intelligence service?

[Andrejcak] Yes, it has. The army commander, Lieutenant General Julius Humaj in Trencin is, in fact, chief of the General Staff. Outwardly, he functions as the Slovak Republic's Army commander. The General Staff has its own intelligence service. In a moment of crisis, the General Staff can propose mobilization, for instance.

[REPUBLIKA] What about decorations....

[Andrejcak] The situation is as follows: When we were dividing the Army, we suggested that the Czech Republic keep the Tomas G. Masaryk Order, and the Slovak Republic the Milan Rastislav Stefanik Order. Apart from that, the Slovak Republic must create its own state and military decorations. If we look at Western officers, we can see many ribbons on their uniforms. They are a certain stimuli for the soldiers. It is paradoxical that our officers either do not have any decorations on their uniforms, or, if they do, they are decorations of a non-existent country!

[REPUBLIKA] Do they sing in the Slovak Army?

[Andrejcak] You presumably mean marching songs. No, not much....

Anyway, this type of song is not fully acceptable. But if you mean old Slovak songs, marching songs such as Bratislava Is the Danube Region.... We should sing them again. The Slovak nation has always loved songs. Soldiers and nice marching songs go well together. We can see that within military units folk-song groups are being formed, and even the Czech Republic envies us this. However, we should have some new Slovak marching songs written. Americans, Englishmen, Italians, and Frenchmen have them, and so do small nations, such as Norwegians and Romanians. I would like to appeal to Slovak composers to give us stimuli, and Slovak historians to search for songs that originated during the Hurban uprising, and other periods. We would like to sing them once again. I know what you mean: Each and every regiment should have its own song—the regiment in Brezno, Trencin, Topolcany, Presov, or Kosice. Songs are symbols of regiments—like the color of the strip is to a sports club....

[REPUBLIKA] Minister, you have a chance to send a message to Slovak people through our daily...

[Andrejcak] The tank division in Topolcany has undergone an inspection that was exceptionally successful. Soldiers scored well on the firing exercise. At present, there is an inspection going on in the division in Presov. So far, we have received satisfactory information. We have problems with the shortage of funds for investment, but I believe that we will get over it, and next year our lawmakers will create more favorable conditions for us in the budget.

I have a message for the parents. The officers and I will exert efforts to eradicate ill-treatment. A large number of soldiers in basic training let anything be done to them, and they do not defend themselves to protect their human dignity. Many of them acquired these habits at apprentice schools, where "party leaders" were using brute force to destroy the self-confidence of young boys, and bring them up to be absolutely dependent. We are taking cases of bullying to court. The penalties are extremely severe. I heard one convict saying: If I had known what a severe penalty I would receive, I would not have dared to indulge in bullying. In apprentice school, they merely reproached us, if that.... But, military service is not apprentice school!

[REPUBLIKA] One last question. Sir, can we rely on the Slovak Army?

[Andrejcak] I can assure you on all my authority—yes! The Army is not only soldiers on active service, who are its core, of course. The Slovak Army is also the people who are at home prepared to serve in combat units in case of mobilization. So, it is no mistake that we eased up on training. Two, three years on, we will call in the reserves for training. It will be a demanding and intensive training. Slovak citizens need not be afraid! We have, and will have, a high quality Army that will protect the territorial integrity of the Slovak Republic!

Cernak Reacts to Meciar's Call for Cooperation

AU0406132193 Bratislava HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Slovak 31 May 93 p 2

[Unattributed report on the "Parties and Movements" column]

[Text] "Solutions to the political situation should not be discussed publicly in mass media." This is how the Slovak National Party Chairman L. Cernak reacted to the statement—given by Slovak Prime Minister V. Meciar on Slovak Radio on Friday—on a possible coalition with the Slovak National Party under certain conditions. "We have not discussed our opinions on how the political situation that has arisen could be solved. I heard the prime minister's statement. It would be desirable to be more specific about its content. We have said several times that our goal is the development of Slovakia. We have several proposals on how to solve the current government crisis, and we must not lose our face in front of our voters and sympathizers by not having supported solutions that would lead to the outcome of the crisis. I have the feeling that conditions for cooperation should not be set out by the party that is asking for help, by the party that is willing and able to help. After the conditions are specified, I am willing to present a proposal to our political board, who should pass its opinion on it. In the spirit of our discussion so far, I am saying that we are prepared to support any solution that would lead Slovakia out from the current political crisis," L. Cernak said.

Minister Discusses Nuclear Waste Storage

AU0406160093 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 31 May 93 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Environment Minister Jozef Zlocha, by Lubo Rabay, place and date not given: "To Russia or to France?"]

[Text] The willingness to cooperate with the Slovak Republic in the sphere of nuclear safety, and particularly in processing spent fuel from nuclear power plants, was again expressed by the French side at the bilateral talks during the 2d PanEuropean Conference of the Environment Ministers in Luzern, Switzerland. As Slovak Environment Minister Jozef Zlocha confirmed to us in an interview, the question of where to dispose of the spent fuel has not yet been settled definitely.

[Rabay] According to our sources, Czechoslovakia planned the construction of a storage site for the processed spent fuel and other contaminated materials on its own territory.

[Zlocha] Yes, the choice of locations with a suitable geological environment and, even, the rudimentary assessment thereof have been completed. The two republics continue to cooperate in dealing with this problem.

[Rabay] At this time, however, after the partition of the CSFR, even more intriguing, and more sensitive, is the question of on which territory—Czech or Slovak—this enormous investment will be made. Or, perhaps two storage sites are to be built?

[Zlocha] It is likely that there will be two of them. I do not expect, however, that the problem of spent fuel storage on our territory will be solved quickly. It really is very costly. There are suitable geological structures in both Slovakia and the Czech Republic. Moreover, the possibility exists of storing the spent fuel in containers placed in old mines. For myself, I would prefer that we export the waste to some other country.

[Rabay] In such an instance, however, the current situation may recur—namely, that the target country, under diverse pressures, may suddenly change its mind.

[Zlocha] The Czech Republic currently exports the nuclear fuel for processing to Germany or France. Processing here still presents a problem. While we were exporting the spent fuel to Russia practically free of charge, it certainly was advantageous for us. It is possible to export it there even today, but the export is complicated by the need for transit permission from Ukraine. Moreover, it is no longer cheap. According to the latest documentation, we should pay more than $1,000 for processing 1 kg of fuel. Thus, considering the price alone, it does not matter whether we export the fuel to Russia or to France. The problem is that exports to France also require transit permits, and from several countries.

[Rabay] Moreover, France would only process the fuel, and it would have to be stored here anyway....

[Zlocha] In any case, we will have to store other contaminated materials and waste here, and the wreck of the A1 unit left by the accident in Jaslovske Bohunice presents a rather specific problem. We would like to use the French experience. In the meantime, a temporary storage is used in Jaslovske Bohunice, and a new one is being built in Mochovce.

[Rabay] According to our sources, the spent fuel could be stored there also in the event that the fuel returns to our territory after processing until the problem of long-term storage is solved.

[Zlocha] That is possible. These storages do not threaten the environment. It is more of a psychological problem.

Russia To Mediate for Vojvodina Hungarians

LD0406194893 Budapest MTI in English 1908 GMT 4 Jun 93

[Text] Moscow, June 4 (MTI)—The Russian president's special envoy for Yugoslavia has agreed to inform Yugoslav leaders about problems concerning ethnic Hungarians in the Vojvodina, Hungarian Foreign Affairs State Secretary Janos Martonyi told the press after talks in Moscow on Friday.

Martonyi expressed hope that the Russian parliament will ratify the Hungarian-Russian basic treaty next week.

Besides bilateral issues, Martonyi and his partners discussed the issue of Russia moving closer to Europe, and the South Slav crisis, about which Martonyi held talks, which lasted over 90 minutes, with Russian Deputy Foreign Minister Vitaliy Churkin, special envoy for Yugoslavia of the Russian president. The politicians discussed Washington's plan of action for settling the Bosnian crisis. The Russian side reassured Hungary that the steps outlined in Washington do not imply giving up the Vance-Owen plan.

At the press briefing Hungarian Ambassador to Moscow Gyorgy Nanovfszky announced an upcoming visit to Moscow by Hungarian President Arpad Goncz. Hungarian Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky will travel to Moscow next month, he added.

Government Criticizes Bosnian Safe Areas

LD0506192293 Budapest MTI in English 1643 GMT 5 Jun 93

[Text] New York, June 5 (MTI)—Although Hungary supports a United Nations Security Council resolution on "safe areas" in Bosnia, it holds the view that the resolution fails to answer questions and fails to concentrate on how to reverse aggression, said Hungary's UN Ambassador Andre Erdos on Friday.

The resolution designates six "safe areas", guarded by UN troops, meant primarily to protect Muslim civilians.

In his address, Erdos said, it was unclear how the decision linked up with the Vance-Owen peace plan, and what guarantees there are to prevent legitimizing the consequences of ethnic cleansing. He asked how it can be ensured that designating the areas is only a temporary stage, after which people may return to their original residences.

Hungary supports the resolution, which refuses to accept the armed occupation of territories, and confirms that setting up the safe zones is only a means and not an end, Erdos said.

Nevertheless, he added, the international community takes steps too late and does too little to resolve the crisis. It would be an illusion to think these steps may restore the region's peace and stability.

NRE Party Calls For Antall Resignation

AU0406105993 Budapest PESTI HIRLAP in Hungarian 3 Jun 93 p 4

[MTI-report: "National Radical Unity—They Are Secret but Antall Should Leave"]

[Text] Laszlo Bako, chairman of the National Radical Unity [NRE], called for Prime Minister Jozsef Antall and his government's voluntary resignation. At a news conference in Debrecen on 2 June the radical party chairman said: "The current government does not represent the interests of Hungarians, it has not implemented the change of the regime, and it thrust the country into a six-party dictatorship which will be hard to recover from in the coming decades."

During the almost hour-long news conference, Bako and Janos Makar, general secretary of the NRE, sharply criticized the government's policy that "sells off the country" and said that "Hungarians might have the right but certainly not the possibility for better life."

At the end of the news conference, MTI's Debrecen correspondent asked about the mass basis of the NRE and how many people support the views that had just been expressed. Chairman Bako replied: The NRE's center is in Debrecen; it is a national political party that was registered on 12 December 1989 and its organizations are not only in Hajdu-Bihar County. The size of the membership is secret, therefore the question will have an apt reply at the next elections that will naturally be won by the NRE.

Antall May Seek Support of Independent Deputies

AU0406164293 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 3 Jun 93 p 4

[Interview with Istvan Fodor, leader of the independent parliamentary group, by Attila Zsoldos; place and date not given: "The Government Is Searching for Supporters"]

[Text] According to our information, in the wake of the Hungarian Democratic Forum's [MDF] deepening internal crisis, [Prime Minister] Jozsef Antall initiated a meeting with some members of the independent group of deputies to ensure the government's parliamentary majority. We asked Istvan Fodor whether he knows about such a step.

[Fodor] Not officially. Interestingly, one of my fellow deputies asked the same question a few days ago. If I consider Antall's television interview on 31 May, this possibility cannot be ruled out since the prime minister said he wants to ensure the preservation of constitutional stability by all means possible.

[Zsoldos] When was the last official meeting between the prime minister and the independent deputy group?

[Fodor] One year ago.

[Zsoldos] Who initiated it?

[Fodor] Antall.

[Zsoldos] Has the deputy group recently been contacted the same way?

[Fodor] No, but I do not think that the prime minister wants to ensure the government's parliamentary majority through the votes of independent deputies. However, Antall is a big tactician and he may start talks with those of my colleagues whom he considers loyal, or may already have done this.

[Zsoldos] The loyalty of how many independent deputies can Antall expect?

[Fodor] Five at the most.

[Zsoldos] Are you sure?

[Fodor] Yes, I know my deputy group well enough to say this.

Energy Plan Passed in Parliament

LD0406110593 Budapest MTI in English 0924 GMT 4 Jun 93

[Text] Budapest, June 4 (MTI)—Although energy consumption fell by a record 11.5 per cent in Hungary last year, it is still double the relative requirement of developed West European countries.

The government's energy policy plan for the next few years reckons on slow increase in production and demand. It is still to be decided whether the country needs a basic power plant fuelled by nuclear energy, imported coal and domestic lignite.

Parliament approved the government's long-term energy plan in April after two years of discussions.

Restructuring energy production, which has been long overdue in Hungary, and setting up new facilities will take more than one election cycle. (MPs in Hungary are elected every four years.)

In 1992, Hungary used 11.5 per cent less energy than in 1991. Last year's energy consumption equalled 25 million tonnes of oil and was 7.5 million tonnes short of the 1986 record. The drop was mainly due to a recession in the industrial sector, which last year used 19.5 per cent less energy than in 1991, and 23 per cent less than in 1986.

Even so, Hungary's relative energy demand is many times above the West European average.

Energy used in Hungary to produce USD 1,000 of GDP [gross domestic product] equals 1.38 tonnes of oil, as compared to 0.57 tonnes in Belgium, 0.47 tonnes in the Netherlands, and 0.33 tonnes in Austria.

Per capita power consumption in Hungary is almost the same as in developed countries, although Hungarian households use fewer machines.

The energy plan focuses on austerity and the widespread use of energy-efficient machines.

The energy-saving scheme calls for HUF [Hungarian forints] 500-600 billion (USD 632 million) worth of new investment projects to promote efficient energy use by the end of the century.

The 1,200-1,500 MW [megawatts] of energy to be saved by 2000 accounts for 16-20 per cent of today's energy consumption.

Since the energy plan counts on renewed economic growth and a resultant growth in the country's power demands, the idea was put forward to build a new basic power plant.

MPs chose to seek the [word indistinct] necessary, its location will have to be decided, together with the type of fuel it will use.

In 1992, Hungary imported 57 per cent of its energy requirements. Domestic production currently satisfies 25 per cent of oil and nearly 50 per cent of gas needs.

According to rough estimates, domestic oil and gas resources may fall to half their present level by the end of the decade.

Endeavours to expand energy imports started in the late 1980s before the political changes. However, implementation of plans to link the country to the western and Mediterranean gas pipeline system has been gravely hampered by a lack of necessary funds.

Figures Show Exports Falling, Imports Steady

AU0406155293 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 4 Jun 93 p 15

["E.P."-signed report: "Almos Kovacs: To Avoid Forceful Interference—Four-Month Deficit: $1.1 Billion"]

[Text] Almos Kovacs, deputy state secretary at the Finance Ministry and leader of the crisis team that was set up by the economic cabinet that examines the fall in exports and the progress of foreign economic processes, told us, after their discussions held on 3 June, that he still maintains the same view he expressed to our newspaper about one week ago, namely that exports in 1993 will be around $10 billion, as opposed to the $10.7 billion in 1992.

In the first four months, Hungarian firms exported goods to the value of $2.46 billion which is 73 percent of the corresponding figure in 1992. The value of imports was $3.53 billion which is more or less the same as last year. Therefore, the foreign trade balance based on customs statistics shows a $1.07 billion deficit which is $845

million worse than in 1992. If we consider items not burdening the payment balance then the net balance of the first four months shows a $740 million import excess.

We asked Kovacs, if exports continue to show a smaller figure than in 1992 on a regular basis while imports are more or less the same as last year then how much can the excess imports be? In his reply he said that he is not mainly worried about the $1 billion deficit that can arise in an adverse situation because the foreign economy closed the past two years with better than expected results, therefore, the country's balance of payments was rather favorable.

According to Kovacs, the fall of exports has to be stopped because it strongly influences the chances of economic growth. In other words, in both the short and the long run, we need an exchange policy that maintains the interest of exporters, Kovacs added. He also noted that imports will not be limited and exports will not be stimulated more than necessary even in the interest of maintaining the foreign economic balance. Forced interference can only bring a temporary solution and does not solve the structural problems.

On the basis of the newly prepared analysis, the economic cabinet will discuss the issue in just over two weeks.

Suchocka: Government More Than Administrator

LD0606194293 Warsaw PAP in English 1712 GMT 6 Jun 93

[Text] Warsaw, June 6—The Polish Government is determined to fulfill the majority of the tasks which still confront it, even though there is now no possibility of enacting legislation, Prime Minister Hanna Suchocka said in an interview for the Polish press agency PAP at the weekend.

Ms Suchocka rejected the suggestion that, with the dissolution of parliament, the government was now reduced to the role of an administrator. "While it is certain that it will not be possible to do everything we planned earlier, because of the inability to pass laws through parliament, but our analysis shows that we will be able to implement a decided majority of our tasks." She noted in particular "many of the assumptions" of the state enterprise pact, the mass privatisation programme, regional and economic-sector reconstruction, and reforms in healthcare, education and social security.

She also vowed to press ahead with preparation work on the 1994 state budget.

Asked whether reforms in Poland were now irreversible, even if the elections were to bring to power groups hostile to the current direction of economic policy, Ms Suchocka said that much had been achieved, and a return to former methods would be impossible. However, she admitted that "market mechanisms, and what has been done in Poland, are still in a delicate state. Clearly, it would be possible to damage this, by implementing an irresponsible policy of printing money without backing, or engaging in excessive interventionism which would retard structural changes."

Asked to comment on the governments promise to review public sector pay, particularly for teachers, Ms Suchocka stressed that the government was committed to address the question following a review of the state finances, to be completed by the autumn. She added that the possibility of finding additional funds for public sector workers seemed to be good.

Ms Suchocka said that she expected the election campaign to be sharply contested, and that the government would undoubtedly face strong criticism. However, she called on all participants to respect the law, and to refrain from resorting to slander and libel. She added that as prime minister, she intended to maintain close contacts with the leaders of all the parties in the present coalition, despite the possibility that the parties themselves would present divergent opinions during the election campaign.

Ms Suchocka declined to say whether she would accept a request to form a new government after the elections. "My main task is to steer the government through this difficult period before the elections, and I will concentrate on that."

Opposition Parties Stage Rally in Warsaw

LD0406165593 Warsaw PAP in English 1430 GMT 4 Jun 93

[Text] Warsaw, June 4—Four Polish opposition parties staged a rally in downtown Warsaw on Friday afternoon to mark the anniversary of recalling the government of Jan Olszewski and demand vetting operations.

Several hundred members of the Centre Alliance (PC), the Movement of the Third Republic of Poland (RTR), the Movement for the Republic of Poland (RDR) and the Polish Action (AP) shouted "Down with Walesa and Suchocka" and distributed leaflets.

Protestors Clash With Police

LD0406180093 Warsaw PAP in English 1728 GMT 4 Jun 93

[Text] Warsaw, June 4—Protesters taking part in the march organized in Warsaw by the centre-right opposition parties clashed with police near the Belweder Presidential Palace Friday afternoon. The scuffle occured when policemen intervened to detain the most aggressive demonstrators.

Bottles and litter bins were thrown at the intervening policemen who used battons on protesters to restore order. A few persons were detained.

Minister Takes Responsibility for Police

LD0506190093 Warsaw PAP in English 1802 GMT 5 Jun 93

[Text] Warsaw, June 5—Interior Minister Andrzej Milczanowki said on Saturday he assumes "full political responsibility" for actions of police forces and the Office for State Protection (UOP) during the Friday demonstration staged by four centre-of-right parties in Warsaw, and rejected accusations of the alleged brutality and provocative behaviour on the part of policemen.

"I will not permit the law being violated and state officials being insulted," Milczanowski declared at a press conference in Warsaw referring to demonstrators' ignoring the lack of permission of Warsaw authorities to march through city's centre and to putting up posters that insulted President Lech Walesa and a few ministers. "It was not the police who broke the law," the interior minister said.

Milczanowski thanked policemen for their determination in restoring order and said that "the police intervened only when it was necessary to halt aggression." He added that the demonstration ended in detaining 14 people. He also mentioned two functionaries being lightly wounded and two police cars being damaged.

Milczanowski criticised press comments on the police intervention calling them "biased and disgusting" and admitted he decided to call a press conference after the lecture of Saturday dailies.

Meanwhile, the four parties that organized the Friday demonstration: The Movement of the Third Republic of Poland (RTR), the Movement for the Republic of Poland (RDR), the Centre Alliance (PC) and the Polish Action said on Saturday evening they expected the ombudsman to take stand on the "provocative and brutal" actions of police, designed, in their opinion, to spark off unrest and to discredit the centre-of-right parties before the forthcoming elections.

The Friday action by police and UOP forces was sharply criticised on Saturday by the Movement of the Third Republic of Poland (RTR), the regional strike committee of the Malopolska Solidarity chapter and by the Solidarity Mazowsze chapter.

Walesa Calls For Supra-Party, Pro-Reform Bloc

LD0606191493 Warsaw TVP Television First Program Network in Polish 1730 GMT 6 Jun 93

[Relayed by TV Polonia Network]

[Text] President Lech Walesa has announced his support for a supra-party, pro-reform electoral bloc. Such a bloc, the president said during a meeting with inhabitants of Gdansk at the parish of St. Bridget, could constitute an alternative for electors disenchanted with the programs of the extant parties.

[Begin Walesa recording] Some propose a bloc, a non-party bloc for the reforms. Others propose a supra-party, pro-reform bloc. Something like that must arise for it to be a counter-weight for all other forces. With others I will support the proposal, but I will not take part in this. I will have photographs taken with a few more people, but only so that you, normal people—normal and better prepared—can enter this place. I will help you, but then I will say thank you. [as heard] [end recording]

Calls For Action for Good of Poland

LD0606220993 Warsaw PAP in English 1926 GMT 6 Jun 93

[Text] Gdansk, June 6—The period of revolution is over, and Poland needs people who are prepared to work for the common good of all citizens, President Lech Walesa said in Gdansk on Sunday.

Speaking outside the Basilica of St. Brygida, President Walesa said that it was important to take action to support solidarity between all the people of Poland. He stressed that he was prepared to work with anyone chosen by the electorate to represent the countrys interests, and promised to support anyone "of whom I will not be ashamed."

The president also promised that he would be prepared to accept vetting of his past actions, if the Sejm (lower house) approved a new constitution, or if the people wished it. But he warned that, until that time, no-one should try to frighten him with the threat of vetting.

The president promised to continue to fight for a Poland which was more honest and united. At the moment, "there is too much fraud, chicanery and bribery," he said.

Later, in a comment for the television news programme "Panorama," President Walesa attacked those right-wing demonstrators who on Friday called for his resignation. "It is crazy and irresponsible today, when we have no parliament, when the government has lost a no-confidence motion, to demand more, to demand that the president should desert."

Commenting on the elections, President Walesa repeated his call for revolutionary methods to be put aside. "We don't need people who can fight, for that period is over. We are waiting for people with ideas, who are able to seek out solutions to the problems of pensions, unemployment, privatisation."

The president repeated his pledge to allow the winning party or coalition to form the next government, "but I would like that coalition to present three candidates (for prime minister). I will choose between them, because I too want to be involved," Walesa said.

Draft Election Schedule Announced

LD0406174393 Warsaw PAP in English 1525 GMT 4 Jun 93

[Text] Warsaw, June 4—The legal office of the president's chancellery has prepared in consultation with the National Electoral Office a draft time-table for the parliamentary elections to be held on September 19, 1993, it was announced Friday.

The time-table, in the form of a presidential ordinance, will be published in the "DZIENNIK USTAW" law gazette at a later date, head of the presidential chancellery's legal office Andrzej Gliniecki said.

The draft time-table envisages that provincial electoral commissions are to be appointed by June 26, lists of candidates for senators are to be submitted to provincial electoral commissions by July 26 and district electoral commissions are to be appointed by August 2.

The document also sets August 10 as the last day on which district lists of candidates should be submitted for registration, and August 30 as the final date for submitting national lists of candidates for registration by the State Electoral Commission.

According to the draft radio and television stations may start broadcasting election campaign programmes on September 4 while not later than on September 11 the district electoral commissions and the State Electoral Commission are to publish information about the registered lists of candidates.

The end of the election campaign is set in the draft for September 17, midnight.

September 19 is the day of the vote.

PC Chairman Kaczynski on Upcoming Elections

WS0306140093 Warsaw Radio Zet in Polish 0615 GMT 3 June 93

[Studio interview with Central Accord [PC] Chairman Jaroslaw Kaczynski, by Andrzej Woyciechowski; from the "Guest of Radio Z" program—live]

[Text] [Woyciechowski] Why did Walesa dissolve the Sejm and why did he do it so fast?

[Kaczynski] I am sure that from his point of view, it was a good occasion to grant himself a stable political future, which has been threatened lately. He could have made two decisions. First, he could have dissolved the parliament without signing the new elections law. In this case he would have a strong position and another scattered Sejm. Second, he could reach agreement with the current coalition and sign a new elections law. His own political stability could be one of the provisions of the agreement. Poland has gained from the fact that the second formula was chosen, because the new elections law is a good thing. If the structure of the new parliament was the same as that of the previous one, it would be most harmful to Polish democracy. I am not sure whether the agreement will be observed with regard to Walesa's political future. However, I am sure that this issue was a part of the deal.

[Woyciechowski] Today, one can hear that many deputies were perplexed by the development of events. Did you anticipate the Sejm's dissolution, or was it a surprise for you, too?

[Kaczynski] I did anticipate it. It was being widely discussed in the Sejm lobby. I do not understand this bewilderment. Some deputies said that the president would dissolve the Sejm; others said that he would not. Walesa made some enigmatic statements on the issue, which forced independent deputies who feared dissolution more than others to vote against the Suchocka government. Games were played, but we were aware of the danger. There was speculation on the procedure of the no-confidence vote, on whether to put forward a candidate for the prime minister and make the vote constructive. The issue still has not been resolved by the Constitutional Court. Walesa made the decision without waiting for the court's decision. Anyway, a possibility of the dissolution was a subject of continuing discussions. This is why I do not understand the bewilderment.

[Woyciechowski] Being aware of such an outcome, why did the opposition not find a commonly accepted candidate and suggest a constructive veto?

[Kaczynski] The majority of the opposition was interested in the parliament's dissolution. At a Sejm leadership session, attended by the president, three factions, including two opposition parties—the Confederation of Independent Poland [KPN] and the Central Accord [PC] spoke in favor of the parliament's dissolution.

[Woyciechowski] You have said that a lot of parties wanted the parliament to be dissolved, and you have named the biggest parties, because they will have better chances in the coming elections.

[Kaczynski] The KPN is a big party. The liberals, a government party, also supported the idea. Lately, there have been opinions that the PC is not a big party, although we have our own view on this issue. We simply believe that a risk must be taken in the name of our national interests. It would have been better if the whole situation occurred a couple of months later, and the parties would have been better prepared. However, by resolving the situation now, we saved the Sejm endless postponement of the final decision. The Polish legislative system was rotting, and I am glad that a new legislature has been given a chance. I told the president that there were two conditions: signing the new elections law—this condition was observed; and changing the government's policy in order to prevent a general strike. To the best of my knowledge the president is taking steps in this direction. I am not changing my assessment of the president. In my opinion, after the parliament is set straight, the president's turn will come. Nonetheless, if this second condition is also observed it would be a good thing, because I would not like a combination of the elections with a general strike.

[Woyciechowski] In hindsight, how do you assess the last Sejm? Was it very bad? Will the next one be better?

[Kaczynski] I do not think it was very bad. It just had a bad reputation in society. It was bad and inefficient, because it was unable to form a stable majority, which is the basic task of every legislature. Every parliament must support the administration. For the administration to be based on the legislature, there must be a stable majority in the latter. This is a disease of parliaments in many democracies. However, normally there are attempts to cure this disease. This is happening in Italy now. We have just begun building a new economy and democracy. This is why this ailment was especially dangerous in our case. There are scattered parliaments in Europe, if we refer to Poland as a European country, but there is no other parliament in which the largest party wins 12 percent of the electorate's votes. In Italy, although the Italian legislature can serve as an example of a scattered parliament, Christian Democrats have won more than 40 percent of votes; communists used to win more than 30 percent, sometimes more than 20 percent of votes; socialists—more than 10 percent. All other parties are smaller, and the elections law has granted them seats in the parliament. Republicans had 1 percent of votes and a couple of seats in the parliament. However, the largest parties were really large. In Poland the largest party is small.

[Woyciechowski] Will the situation change after the elections? Is there a chance that one party will dominate?

[Kaczynski] I hope that the situation will change. I would like the government coalition without the Christian National Union [ZChN], because it is hard to imagine Deputy Czarnecki and Deputy Labuda on one election list in Wroclaw.... It would be just ridiculous, and democracy should not be ridiculed. If the remaining part of the coalition forms a bloc, and if the opposition also forms a bloc, we could approach normalcy, and society would be free to choose either the continuation of the status quo or a new policy. By opposition I do not mean communists, of course, and I do not think the KPN would like to join it. The Polish Peasant Party's [PSL] participation is also debatable. The new policy that I mentioned would be proposed from three different positions: communist or post-communist, centrist-rightist, and that of the KPN. The last position is hard to describe, because the KPN does not fit traditional political molds.

[Woyciechowski] Do you consider the KPN a leftist or a rightist party?

[Kaczynski] I cannot say, because they do not fit....

[Woyciechowski, interrupting] Is a coalition of right-wing parties possible? Is the idea put forward by Parys a couple of days ago realistic? I mean the idea of an electoral coalition which would unite the PC, the RD, the Polish Reaction, and the Movement of the Third Republic.

[Kaczynski] This is an old idea. This must be doable, although I have an even broader vision of the coalition. I would include the Peasant Accord [PL] and the PSL-PL. I know that the ZChN is in a state of shock....

[Woyciechowski, interrupting] You do not rule out the possibility of the ZChN joining the opposition?

[Kaczynski] I still think it could, although this is a disputable and unrealistic issue right now. There also is a likelihood of holding talks with the PSL. This is the question: Do we proceed on the same course, or do we change it? If this problem is to be given a political solution, we must find a way to do this.

[Woyciechowski] You have mentioned the PSL among those parties. Does that mean that the PSL is no longer a post-Communist party and fits perfectly into the rightist coalition?

[Kaczynski] Let us not jump to conclusions—if such a problem did not exist, I would have no doubts about it. My speculation on this is purely arithmetical, and whether they are realistic or not is a different thing, which seems to be a big question mark. I am only talking about alternative options that might stand against each other in reality. I am not saying that one option is realistic because it will gain power, while the other represents a bunch of rhetoric-filled slogans, which might seem true at the moment, but which are unlikely to be implemented.

[Woyciechowski] When will the election campaign start? Will it kick off by the PC's march to the Belvedere, scheduled for tomorrow?

[Kaczynski] It has already started. I am not hiding the fact that its beginning is not pleasant for me personally—which does not come as a surprise, though. A fake document has been concocted that allegedly proves that during martial law, I signed a document, commonly known at those times as a loyalty paper. This is a bold-faced lie, and I can even prove it in court. They publicize it now—when I can undertake only regular legal steps, instead of the summary procedures that would significantly accelerate the whole process. Hopefully, I will manage to present this matter to the public. In the Sejm's cafeteria, I saw Communists gloating over this article in the NIE—this rag of a newspaper. It is no secret that they would cheerfully throw dirt at anyone, because they themselves are deep in dirt. Unfortunately, many decent people might actually believe all this.

[Woyciechowski] In other words, your signature under this document has been forged?

[Kaczynski] They maintain that not only did I sign it, but also wrote it in my own hand, which was not a common practice in situations like this. On 18 December, 1981, I was actually interrogated at the MSW [Internal Affairs Ministry]; but I spurned all attempts to make me sign the loyalty paper and other even more far-reaching proposals. Moreover, I threatened to resort to more desperate actions. Not that I really was ready to commit them. I simply had a lot of experience in dealing with the MSW and knew what to do in order to be left alone.

[Woyciechowski] If this document is fabricated, who could have done this?

[Kaczynski] Two months ago, I was approached by a gentleman—in his words a former UOP [Office of State Protection] officer—who showed me a list of all possible sanctions against me, which was actually borne out later. In simple words, this is the work of one of the UOP departments.

[Woyciechowski] And not the UB [Security Administration; former name for the UOP]?

[Kaczynski] Unfortunately, the UOP. Instead of being busy with what it is supposed to do—and there are lots of things to be done in Poland—it engages in these sorts of activities.

[Woyciechowski] What party will the president support in the oncoming elections?

[Kaczynski] Knowing the president, I do not think he would support anyone outright, because it would involve assuming great responsibility. It is true that against his own rules, he has recently assumed full responsibility. Yet I am sure he still thinks that it is the government and Ms. Suchocka who bear the main portion of it. Ms. Suchocka is partly responsible also for the way the Sejm was dissolved, which my fellow party member described

as non-European. Since I am dealing with a lady, I will not say more. Now, despite his current alignment with the government coalition, I do not think that the president will openly support it.

[Woyciechowski] You seem to have moderated your stance toward the president. Is it actually so, or is this only my impression?

[Kaczynski] I have just said that I have not altered my attitude toward the president. However, we succeeded in what we have been doing for the last several months—laying certain things bare. Besides, the president became weaker. From what I heard, he had more far-reaching plans than the ones that he can afford now. We are pleased by this fact, even though the president consolidated his position at the cost of certain, originally unintended, alignments. Nevertheless, the issue of the presidency is still on in Poland, but it is not worth making it the main slogan of the election campaign.

[Woyciechowski] What do you think this election campaign will be like—very harsh and full of accusations? Or, will it be more moderate because we have already learned to conduct more refined campaigns?

[Kaczynski] Election campaigns are not usually very refined, you know. This is just the way they are. Just as not all legislatures are refined. However, our Sejm might compare more favorably with other legislatures—maybe because it is often shown on television. I wish that the campaign would focus exclusively on the essential topics, such as economic and budget policies, as well as the policies concerning beneficiaries of the present alignment of political forces—that is, who will benefit from the economic property changes. These are the problems directly affecting ordinary people every day. One should add to this such issues as the state system, President Walesa, presidential elections (accelerate them or not, and who should be nominated for president), the type of the state (whether we should put up with those numerous holdovers from the past system). Take, for example, the issue of state secrets. I apologize for going back to my own problems, but I have no right to simply say: Give me my MSW secret personal files—though I know that there are no such files there, which can be ascertained by the witnesses. Everything is shrouded in the so-called state secret. This is why file-checking is absolutely necessary if we have serious intentions of building a new state. To put it briefly, a great deal of issues are open to discussion, and await solutions. In any case, the campaign might show both its ugly and acceptable faces.

[Woyciechowski] While answering my question, you used very diplomatic and mild words. But based on the message of your answer, would it be right to say that you have just vowed a harsh election campaign on the part of the PC? At least, this is how I understood it.

[Kaczynski] I simply said that we would present our program intended to decisively change the present political course and economic policies, as well as the policies regarding public life, and that we would struggle with our adversaries, who want to push Poland in the opposite direction. And we are ready to do this in a calm way, avoiding all unacceptable incidents. Some people here have really hot tempers, but this is a northern country, after all. This, however, should be on a reciprocal basis. We do not want anyone to disavow their convictions. If all parties agree to assume that their opponents have good intentions, this campaign will turn into a great discussion about the future of Poland. If not, it will erupt into a shoving match. We would not have any advantage in this, because our opponents are more powerful, having the media and the money on their side. So we are interested in a calm campaign.

Iliescu Meets With German Economics Official

AU0306164993 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1442 GMT 3 Jun 93

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 3/6/1993—President Iliescu had Germany's Federal Minister of Economics Heinrich Leonard Kolb as guest Thursday, 3 June. Mr. Kolb is also the head of the German side in the Romanian-German Cooperation Council.

In the press statement at the end of the interview, the German minister remarked the open and constructive character of his dialogue with the head of the Romanian state and said both sides had identified their joint interest in intensifying and developing the "already good relations between Germany and Romania."

Among the main aspects approached during the meeting were: the development of the financial-banking sector in Romania, the settlement of the foreign-investors'-right-to-acquire-landed property issue, adequate visa issuance procedures for businessmen, attractive possibilities for German investors, the development of intercompany relations.

President Iliescu insisted on the geo-strategic role of Romania and on the economic importance of the Rhein-Main-Danube canal as direct link between the Black Sea and the North Sea in the development of trade between Romania and Germany.

Iliescu: County Councils Meeting 'Constructive'

AU0506174193 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1501 GMT 4 Jun 93

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 4/6/1993—Speaking at the conference of representatives of the county councils, which is taking place in Cluj (Western Romania), Romanian President Ion Iliescu underscored the necessity for a permanent dialogue in matters like local autonomy and de-centralizing public services, so that viable solutions may be found.

President Iliescu also pointed out the necessity that the current legal frame be observed. He also said it was necessary that a number of bills be drafted in collaboration with the government in order to bring about a system allowing for genuine local autonomy and decentralization.

In a statement to the press at the end of the meeting, President Iliescu opined that the dialogue of Cluj had been constructive and noted that, irrespective of the political orientation of the county council members having attended the conference, they were intent on solving the basic problems and on cooperating to that effect.

The Romanian president appealed to a concentration of efforts for the solution of the concrete problems of economic and social life and of the citizens' problems.

Government Discusses Financial Issues, Embargo

AU0506123693 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1700 GMT 4 Jun 93

[Text] The government held its weekly meeting today. A statement faxed by the Government Press Office says that the meeting discussed new social protection measures. Considering the fact that inflation exceeded what was forecast for the March-April period, the executive branch endorsed an appropriate indexation for wages and pensions to begin 1 June. The Ministry of Labor and Social Protection, together with the Ministry of Finance, are to finalize—as soon as possible—the draft decision.

In the first part of the meeting, the cabinet was briefed on the results of some visits abroad last week by some of its members.

Then the government examined a progress report on structural adjustment measures included in the SAL [expansion unknown] loan accord between Romania and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, a report that is to be finalized and forwarded to Parliament.

In the same context, Finance Minister Florin Georgescu referred to the positive development of negotiations on providing the second installment of $150 million under the SAL accord and to the conditions that have to be fulfilled so that this installment may be granted. Georgescu also summed up the state of local government funding for 1992, a summary that included a number of proposals on strengthening local funding by capitalizing on (?funds) granted to local authorities, improving the legal framework, and strengthening financial discipline.

The government then considered a proposal for restructuring the finance and banking industry on the basis of credit offered by the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development for this purpose.

Following the amendment of the draft law on war veterans and war widows, the government reexamined and adopted this draft bill aimed at creating realistic conditions for granting effective support to these people.

The government also reexamined and adopted the draft bill on public debt which establishes conditions for contracting domestic and foreign public loans, regulations for debt strategy and the management of debts, and ways and means to ensure resources for the repayment of debts.

Within the framework of the reform program for enterprises, the government endorsed a decision on instituting a special plan for supervising the first 30 trade companies to operate with state capital, whose financial situation is critical. This action will be followed with restructuring programs for these companies.

The government also endorsed a proposal for establishing an interministerial council for the state borders.

It also adopted a bill on accepting the convention on measures to prohibit and prevent illegal trade in cultural treasures.

The more than 130 draft bills discussed and adopted today also included the memorandum on the assistance granted by the West European Union for the application on the Danube of the sanctions established by the Security Council against the Federal Republic if Yugoslavia—Serbia and Montenegro. In accordance with this memorandum, all these activities will be carried out fully in keeping with the national laws and regulations in force in Romania under the supervision of specialized Romanian authorities.

The WEU personnel participating in these actions are to observe the laws and regulations in force in Romania, the statement received from the Government Press Office stresses in conclusion.

Union Leader Discusses New Confederation

AU0406163993 Bucharest TINERETUL LIBER in Romanian 31 May 93 p 3

[Interview with Victor Ciorbea, president of the National Confederation of Romania's Free Trade Unions, by Liana Buligan; place and date not given: "CNSRL-Fratia—a Partner Whom Those in Power Should Acknowledge!"]

[Text] [Buligan] Mr. Ciorbea, what are the advantages of the trade union merger that is currently being finalized?

[Ciorbea] No doubt there are many advantages. First, we will put an end to the same process of segregation and segmentation of the trade union movement that we have already talked about and we will set up the most powerful trade union federation, not only in Romania but in all Central and Eastern Europe. Through this merger we will launch a restructuring of the entire trade union movement in our country and accomplish several serious, genuine trade unions that are established on ideological criteria. I will always support the idea that for this period of transition we need several trade union federations and, therefore, we will have to respect trade union pluralism. Returning to the issue of the advantages of this merger, I must emphasize that not only the force represented by the large number of members—which is impressive—of this new trade union federation, but also the fact that it includes the vital sectors of the Romanian economy—energy, oil, and radio-communications—and will also include the well known trade union of unemployed people, with its well known dynamism and effectiveness in the union's fight. Thus, the new trade union federation will represent the most serious partner for the government, those in power, and in general for the employers. I am convinced that in the new conditions, those in power will not be able to ignore this confederation and, taking into consideration its force and potential, the trade union federation will have to resort to less concrete actions because the partners in dialogue will have to negotiate in the true meaning of the word. I believe that this new trade union confederation will become an essential support in the efforts made to democratize all Romanian social life and we hope that we will witness a phenomenon of clarifications also at a political level. At the international level, the new confederation will become a member of the CISL [International Confederation of Free Trade Unions] and of similar European organizations. Being the most important trade union federation in this part of Europe, we will benefit from all the possible attention, meaning that we will achieve joint programs.

[Buligan] What will be the program of activity of the new confederation after the Merger Congress that is to be held on 12 June 1993?

[Ciorbea] We will work to consolidate organizational structures and ideological clarifications, while at a union level, in accordance with the protocol concluded with the government on 6 May 1993, we will have to hold new rounds of talks at the end of June, on the basis of statistic data regarding the evolution of the economy. Therefore, we will reexamine the minimum salary in the economy and, most of all, the relationship between salaries and prices, taking into consideration the extremely high inflation that we are witnessing today. Therefore, we are going to be having a hot summer.

[Buligan] What exactly will be your duties in your capacity as president of this new trade union federation?

[Ciorbea] Both in the statute and the Merger Agreement it is stipulated that there should be two presidents, and they will both have the same power of decision-making and the same power of representation in social, political, and organizational relations. However, the responsibilities will be different. I will be in charge of professional issues, negotiations, the department dealing with women's, young people's, and pensioners' problems, legal issues, domestic and international programs, international relations, political and trade union analysis, the press bureau, and the political image.

[Buligan] In accordance with the understanding reached with the government, the draft of the new trade union law will have to be worked out by the trade unions. Do you believe that parliament will have discussed this law by the end of its session?

[Ciorbea] In accordance with Point Six of the signed protocol, we have the task to work on this bill, while the government has to submit it for immediate discussion. Considering that we are very busy organizing the merger congresses and launching this new confederation on an international level, it is hard to believe that we will be able to finalize the draft of this law before the parliamentary recess, and all the more so since we want an efficient trade union law and not a law that shows "Romanian originality." We want a law that should be match similar laws in other democratic states, so as to prevent the obstruction of freedom of association. In this respect, we are receiving documentation from Europe and the United States and we will even be assisted by experts

from the International Labor Organization and the International Council of Free Trade Unions. We want to do a proper, professional job. Certainly other trade unions will have different opinions, but we consider them pseudo-confederations, with a the limited representation of only a few thousand members. There are clear-cut criteria throughout the world, which set conditions that should be fulfilled by a trade union confederation to be represented in a dialogue with those in power so as to negotiate the Collective Labor Contract at a national level and to be included in the three-party body [government, employers' association, trade unions].

[Buligan] Do you believe that there is a danger that certain observers will identify the new confederation as the old trade union the UGSR [the General Union of Romanian Trade Unions that operated in the Ceausescu period]?

[Ciorbea] Such fears have already been voiced in accordance with freedom of opinion, and in the future there will be yet more to be heard. However, we believe in the need for trade union pluralism and I am convinced that in the next stage there will be other trade union federations, and thus we will no longer be blamed for monopolizing the Romanian trade union movement. It is necessary to establish a trade union federation whose policy promotes social-democracy, takes into consideration the norms of Christian morality, and includes Christian Democratic elements in its ideology. However, there is a tendency toward a left-wing trade union, led by Miron Cosma. We welcome this attempt, because we believe in the need for ideological clarifications within the trade union movement. The fact that we will have most probably the largest number of members does not mean that it will automatically become a "UGSR." However, I must mention that there are countries with one single, very strong trade union federation (Austria, Germany, Israel, and Britain), but no such type of accusations can be heard. Nonetheless, in the current stage in Romania, we need pluralism. In fact, this need for pluralism is mainly felt in the Latin countries.

[Buligan] How do you view the evolution of the relationship between prices and salaries over the next 2-3 months, and what will be the trade union's answer to any obvious pauperization of the population?

[Ciorbea] We are witnessing an alarming development in the relationship between salaries and prices. The negotiations to be held with the government at the end of July, on the basis of statistic data regarding the development of this relationship, will be a decisive moment regarding this issue. A possible social explosion depends on how we will be able to find a common language and negotiate an appropriate relationship between prices and salaries. The end of July will be decisive from this point of view.

[Buligan] What are the chances for the three-party body to become operational and to what extent can it avoid the social explosion foreseeable for the autumn?

[Ciorbea] As is known, the PHARE [Economic Reconstruction Aid for Poland and Hungary] program for social dialogue allocated 2 million ECU to us; thus, a few weeks ago, the Three-Party Secretariat was established and a seminar on the ways and means to implement the program was organized. This secretariat will represent the embryo of the new three-party national body, a council for social policy established at a national level and we hope that it will become operational soon. Our primary goals are connected with the organizational framework of the social partnership, namely with the modification of the law on labor conflict and collective contracts and the drafting of a social partnership law. However, this partnership will not become operational in a short enough time to prevent social explosions this year. They may be avoided only through very serious and responsible negotiations with the government and the employers' association. Whether they like it or not, those in power will have to hold those negotiations with the major trade union federation and primarily with the new CNSLR-Fratia confederation.

Foreign Media Bulletin: Balkan Crisis 7 June
WA0706160893

The following is an overview of current FBIS reporting on events in the Balkans. It supplements other FBIS reporting and consists primarily of selected summaries of longer reports. For reference purposes, serial numbers of the longer reports are provided.

SUMMARY

Muslim, Bosnian Serb leaders comment on UN resolution establishing UN-protected safe havens around Muslim enclaves ... Muslim-Croat clashes reported in Travnik ... UN condemns Muslim, Serbian actions in Gorazde ... Serbian opposition leader Draskovic to be detained for 30 days ... Serbs in Bosnia, Croatia to hold referendum on union.

DIPLOMATIC

LEADERS COMMENT ON 'SAFE HAVENS' (Zagreb Radio, TANJUG): Bosnian President Izetbegovic says he will accept UN resolution establishing "safe havens" around six Muslim enclaves provided residents are allowed to move freely to and from towns, surrounding territories included in havens, Serbian artillery outside of towns "neutralized." Bosnian Serb leader Karadzic says resolution "very useful for Muslims," is "not detrimental for Serbs either." Bosnian Serb assembly speaker Krajisnik suggests adding Croatian-held towns to list of protected zones. (LD0606211893, LD0506212193, LD0606164793)

MILITARY

CROATS, MUSLIMS TRADE ACCUSATIONS (Zagreb Radio, Sarajevo Radio): Bosnian Croats say "dozens of civilians and soldiers" killed, "over 100 wounded" in Muslim attack on Croats in Travnik. "About 3,000 Croats" have reportedly "fled from their homes." Sarajevo Radio says Bosnian Croats "killed 18 Muslim civilians" in attack on Travnik, while Bosnian Army "came to the aid of Croatian women, children, and old people." (LD0706074393, LD0606192093)

UN BLAMES SERBS, MUSLIMS FOR IMPASSE (AFP, Sarajevo Radio, TANJUG): Citing its refusal to negotiate terms of UN-protected "safe havens," UNPROFOR Commander Morillon blames "Bosnian Government intransigence" for preventing UN observers from reaching besieged town of Gorazde. Morillon spokesman continues to accuse Bosnian Serbs of blocking passage of UN convoys into town. Muslim, Serbian sources report continuation of fighting. (AU0706123093, LD0606191393, LD0606162893)

MUSLIM ATTACK ON UN HELICOPTER (Zagreb Radio): Croatian forces say Muslims fired on UN helicopter carrying Bosnian Croat leader Boban to Sarajevo. Helicopter "hit by two bullets," forced to return to UN headquarters in Split, Croatia. (LD0406160893)

MORILLON ACCUSED OF SIDING WITH MUSLIMS (TANJUG): Bosnian Serb commander Mladic says Serbs "becoming aware" that UNPROFOR Commander Morillon is "very much on the side of the Muslims." Mladic accuses Morillon of demonstrating "indifference" to Serbian casualties by evacuating Muslims from Zepa and Srebrenica who have "committed terrible crimes" against Serbs and by ignoring the evacuation of wounded Serbs from Tuzla. (LD0506214593)

POLITICAL

DRASKOVIC TO BE DETAINED FOR 30 DAYS (TANJUG): Belgrade magistrate announces that Serbian opposition leader Draskovic and his wife will be detained for 30 days during criminal investigation for "violation of Constitution ... public order." Draskovic's Serbian Renewal Movement calls imprisonment example of "repression characteristic only of totalitarian regimes." (LD0606123593)

RSK TO VOTE ON UNION WITH BOSNIAN SERBS (TANJUG): Serbian Krajina assembly votes to hold referendum on unification with Bosnian Serbs. Motion of no-confidence in Krajina president Hadzic and assembly speaker Paspalj for failing to call new elections tabled after decision to hold referendum. (LD0506210293, LD0506151293)

'Fierce' Fighting Between Serbs, Muslims

LD0606191393 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 6 Jun 93

[Report by correspondent Enes Musovic]

[Text] The right bank of the Drina River has been under artillery attack since this morning. A major infantry attack was launched in the area of Orahovac in the zone of responsibility of the First Drina Brigade [Muslim forces] but it was repelled.

As we are filing this report we have been informed that chetniks have launched an infantry attack in the Medena Glavica area after artillery preparation. The soldiers of the 31st Drina Shock Brigade [Muslim forces] are investing superhuman efforts to resist the numerically superior enemy. We have been informed that the clashes are fierce and that hand-to-hand combat is in progress.

'Muslim Attacks'

LD0606162893 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1412 GMT 6 Jun 93

[Text] Cajnice, 6 June (TANJUG)—The local command of the [Bosnia-Herzegovina] Serb republic army stressed in its statement today that Muslim attacks against Serb positions in the Gorazde area have been going on for 11 days now.

According to the command of the Serb republic army in Cajnice, over the last 24 hours the fiercest clashes were fought on the Carevo Guvno-Medena Glavica defense line and the mountain pass of Koraza where the Muslims launched an infantry attack this morning backed by 122-mm and 155-mm howitzers.

Serbs Launch 'Large-Scale' Offensive on Brcko

LD0506094993 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 0800 GMT 5 Jun 93

[Text] Attacks by the Serb-chetnik aggressor on the free Brcko territory continued throughout the night. In their intention to carry out the policy of ethnic cleansing and genocide, the Serb-fascist forces of occupation are attacking all defense lines and over 50,000 villagers and displaced citizens of Brcko are now sheltering in overcrowded villages in the free territory.

Fierce battles were being waged in the sectors Bajici, Bukovica, Lipovac, Brod, Brodusa, Licki Most, Rijeka, Dizdarusa, and Omerbegovic last night. Chetniks from Brcko, Mt. Majevica, the Semberija area [northeast Bosnia], and [Bosnian] Krajina and a large number of Serbs from Serbia, including volunteers from Nis, were engaged in fierce assaults on the Brcko defense positions.

It is beyond doubt that Serb-chetniks have launched a large-scale offensive aimed at breaking through our lines and expanding the northern corridor and dealing a fatal blow to the integrity of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Brave soldiers of the 108th brigade and some units of the Second Corps of the Bosnia-Herzegovina army, aware that the decisive battle for our homeland is being fought here, are heroically resisting all enemy assaults, which are occasionally just like a criminal orgy of Yugoslav howitzers, mortars, tanks, anti-air guns [words indistinct] which are showering our positions with their shells and in the process are turning everything into debris.

In fierce battles last night, defenders killed 45 chetniks and wounded an even larger number.

The chetnik aggression on free Brcko territory is, however, unabating. Since 0630 this morning, the entire Brcko defense line has been pounded by horrific destructive shells. Chetniks are bringing in fresh forces. They are not waiting for reinforcements to be brought in from Serbia, but are mobilizing everyone capable of carrying arms in Brcko. [passage indistinct]

Muslim Defense Under Attack

LD0606144893 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 6 Jun 93

[Text] Everything that is moving and that is on the surface in the area in front of the border of the occupied part of Bosnian Posavina is disappearing. Heavy howitzers based in [words indistinct], Pelagicevo, in coordination with fire from mortar launchers in [words indistinct] and constant tank support, are pounding all Brcko defense lines, particularly their central areas.

Over the past 24 hours the chetniks have been opening fire from machineguns and antiaircraft guns on key roads in the direction in which the aggressor has also been firing Maljutka guided missiles this morning.

The chetnik artillery is attacking with heavy machineguns and antiaircraft guns hitting our defense lines with incendiary bullets. Huge losses suffered over the past few days have seriously depleted the chetnik ranks. [remainder of item indistinct]

'Fresh Muslim Forces' Near Foca; 'Mobilized Women'

AU0506152093

[Editorial Report] Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian at 1300 GMT on 5 June gives the following account of the situation on Bosnian battlefields:

Correspondent from Gracanica Vid Blagojevic claims that "the attacks at the positions of the Serbian fighters have been going on for three days." "Early this morning the Muslims embarked upon a fierce mortar-infantry attack at the defense lines of the Serbian forces from the direction of Novalici, (?Kosino Brdo), and Gornji Lukavac," Blagojevic says, adding that "the fighters of the army of the Serbian republic are responding with the same measures." Blagojevic also notes "presence of a great number of mobilized women" in this attack, "who are probably there to lift the morale of the Muslim

fighters and create a fuss and uproar that is supposed to have some psychological effect on the Serbian fighters." He concludes that "the fighting continues at the time of sending this dispatch."

From Doboj, correspondent Zoran Grgurevic reports that a general alarm has been sounded in the town at noon. "Fierce fighting is under way on the lines of defense in the direct vicinity of the town," Grgurevic reports. He says that "the enemy" also attempted infantry breakthroughs at several localities. He reports that "a Muslim platoon that tried to sneak behind the Serbian positions" was destroyed in the region of (?Baleznica). He says that the fiercest artillery fire directed at "the Serbian villages at the foot of Mt. Ozren" is coming from "the Muslim strongholds" Glokotnica, Orahovica, and Gracanica.

"From the direction of Gorazde the Muslim forces have moved into another overall attack at the positions of the Serbian fighters on all lines of the front today," correspondent Drago Todorovic reports. Quoting Colonel Marko Kovac, commander of the Foca tactical group, Todorovic says that "the enemy" positioned in the strongholds Zigovi, Novakovica Kosa, and (?Ogleceva) fired 114-mm rockets and antiaircraft and mortar bombs of various calibers shortly before 0800 GMT [0600 GMT] this morning. As he reports, "military and civilian installations in the region of Cajnice" are being targeted. According to Todorovic, "the Serbian fighters are withstanding fierce attacks." The correspondent then puts forward his opinion that "the latest UN resolution on protected zones" encouraged "Alija's formations to move into a new conquest campaign in the Drina Valley." He also reports the arrival of "the fresh Muslim forces in the region of Trebesko Brdo," on the left bank of Drina River, and to Grebak, "the biggest Muslim stronghold west of Foca."

Serb Artillery Attacks

LD0506095193 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 0800 GMT 5 Jun 93

[Text] Following a brief lull last night, the chetniks continued their fierce artillery attacks on the free territory of the upper Drina River area this morning. From early this morning the rumbling of chetnik artillery could be heard from the direction of [words indistinct]. Civilian settlements are being targeted, and it is mainly women, children, and old people, who the international community has given the role of citizens of [word indistinct], who are casualties.

Defenders, although hungry and naked, are putting up a heroic resistance. Chetniks from Mt. Jahorina are opening fire on them with antiaircraft guns and machine guns. They are pounding the defense lines in the free Foca territory.

It has been noticed that help is being increasingly brought in from Serbia and Montenegro. It is obvious that the Serb-Montenegrin aggressor's intention is to place one more territory in southeastern Bosnia under its control. This was [name indistinct] reporting for Bosnia-Herzegovina Radio and Television.

Serbs Attack Gorazde; Muslims, Croats Clash in Travnik

AU0506185493 Paris AFP in English 1831 GMT 5 Jun 93

[Report by Michael Adler]

[Excerpts] Sarajevo, June 5 (AFP)—Bosnian Serb forces pressed on Saturday with an assault on the eastern Moslem "safe area" of Gorazde as fighting flared in central Bosnia between erstwhile Moslem and Croat allies.

In Sarajevo, also designated a "safe area" by the United Nations, heavy machine-gun and rifle fire could be heard on the front lines in the evening. Sporadic shells crashed in to the center of the city, and Sarajevo radio reported one death in the old town.

The United Nations meanwhile announced that the humanitarian airlift into Sarajevo, suspended Wednesday after sniper fire wounded two French legionnaires guarding the airport, would resume Sunday.

British peacekeepers based in the central town of Vitez refused to grant refuge on their base overnight to a group of Moslem civilians whose buses were hit by mortar fire at a Croat checkpoint, killing two people and wounding 16, but drove them on Saturday to nearby Zenica—the first leg of their journey to Moslem-held Tuzla in the northeast, at the request of the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees.

In Gorazde, continuing an attack that began May 28, the Serbs shelled all defense lines around the town, which the Serbs have refused to let U.N. monitors enter, Sarajevo radio said.

The radio said the Serbs were concentrating their troops west and southwest of Gorazde.

It said local authorities issued an urgent appeal for medical supplies and that the local Red Cross was asking for help in supplying food since 10,000 refugees from villages Serbs had taken Wednesday had arrived in Gorazde. [passage omitted]

According to Sarajevo radio, Bosnian positions near the strategic Serb-held town of Brcko in the northeast and Moslem-held Gradacac and nearby Gracanica, also in the northeast, were heavily shelled Saturday by the Serbs.

U.N. Protection Force (UNPROFOR) spokesman Barry Frewer said U.N. military observers were standing by to go to Gorazde but that the U.N. force needed approval from Bosnian Serb commander-in-chief Ratko Mladic. Commander Frewer said Mladic "has not made himself available."

Fighting broke out in and around the central Bosnian town of Travnik between Bosnian Moslem and Croat forces, British soldiers in Vitez said Saturday.

Major James Miles said a running battle had started in the hills near Travnik, 100 kilometres (60 miles) northwest of Sarajevo Friday. It had lasted overnight, briefly ceased and resumed Saturday morning.

There was fighting in Travnik itself and machine-gun fire down the Lasva valley, he said by telephone.

Frewer said Bosnian Croat troops had put up checkpoints around the Travnik area and fortified them with mines.

He said this limited the UNPROFOR's movements and that U.N. officers were meeting with local commanders "to try to get them to remove the mines and allow us free movement."

He reported tension in Fojnica, 20 kilometres (12 miles) southeast of Travnik, with "very few civilians on the streets and everywhere you go there are large concentrations" of Bosnian Croat troops.

Frewer said a convoy of 250 aid trucks set out Friday from the Bosnian-Croatian border for Tuzla. The vehicles must pass through areas of heavy Moslem-Croat fighting.

Morillon Blames Bosnian Government for Gorazde Impasse

AU0706095093 Paris AFP in English 0742 GMT 7 Jun 93

[Excerpts] Sarajevo, June 7 (AFP)—The Serb offensive in the eastern Bosnian enclave of Gorazde was continuing for its 12th day Monday and there was sporadic sniper fire in Sarajevo in the morning, Radio Sarajevo said. [passage omitted]

Meanwhile, in a sharp departure from what has been the standard UNPROFOR line, the U.N. military commander in Bosnia General Philippe Morillon on Sunday blamed Bosnian government intransigence for preventing U.N. military observers from reaching Gorazde.

UNPROFOR spokesman had up until Sunday merely spoken of the Serbs blocking off the observers from reaching Gorazde, the only one of six U.N. havens where there is no U.N. presence. The Serbs claim that the UNPROFOR has failed to demilitarize two other eastern safe havens, Srebrenica and Zepa, and have thus suspended their talks with Morillon.

Morillon, a French general, told AFP that the rejection May 23 by Alija Izetbegovic, the president of the mainly Moslem Bosnian government, of the so-called Washington agreement on protecting U.N.-mandated safe havens and a general call to arms by the president had stopped the negotiating process over the areas.

Izetbegovic reacted angrily to the Washington agreement, rejected the negotiating process and in a call to arms urged Bosnians to "unite and to use all the means available so as to defend their independent and sovereign Bosnia and Herzegovina, its integrity and freedom."

Morillon said UNPROFOR could work only through negotiation.

"There are only two options. One, we apply the resolutions of the Security Council but the main parties must be in agreement," Morillon said.

The other option is that UNPROFOR is paralyzed by lack of agreement of the parties.

Morillon said: "But for the moment in the (Bosnian) presidency there are contradictory opinions and they have not taken a stand. It is they who must decide if they agree with U.N. resolutions."

His commments at Sarajevo airport, on the arrival of French Defense Minister Francois Leotard, were the first time he had even implicitly blamed the Bosnians for the impasse in Gorazde. The comments came after the U.N. Security Council Friday authorized sending 5,000-10,000 troops to protect the safe havens. [passage omitted]

'Intransigence' Blamed

AU0606150693 Paris AFP in English 1424 GMT 6 Jun 93

[By Michael Adler]

[Text] Sarajevo, June 6 (AFP)—U.N. commander Philippe Morillon Sunday [6 June] blamed Bosnian government intransigence for preventing U.N. military observers from reaching the Serb-besieged Moslem enclave of Gorazde.

His chief spokesman, Canadian Navy Commander Barry Frewer, meanwhile told journalists that the Bosnian Serbs were continuing to block the observers from reaching Gorazde, the only one of six U.N. havens where there is no U.N. presence.

General Morillon, the head of the U.N. Protection Force (UNPROFOR) in Bosnia-Herzegovina, told AFP that the rejection May 23 by Alija Izetbegovic, the president of the mainly Moslem Bosnian government, of the so-called Washington agreement on protecting U.N.-mandated safe havens and a general call to arms by the president had stopped the negotiating process over the areas.

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"But for the moment in the (Bosnian) presidency there are contradictory opinions and they have not taken a stand.

"It is they who must decide if they agree" with U.N. resolutions, Morillon said.

His comments at Sarajevo airport, on the arrival of French Defense Minister Francois Leotard, were the first time he had even implicitly blamed the Bosnians for the impasse in Gorazde, under a fierce Serb infantry and artillery attack since May 28. The comments came after the U.N. Security Council on Friday authorized sending 5,000-10,000 troops to protect the havens, by force if necessary, including air support.

The U.N. humanitarian airlift to Sarajevo meanwhile resumed Sunday as small-arms fire and mortar explosions shook the capital. It was suspended Wednesday after shooting at the airport.

Frewer said Bosnian Serb commander in chief Ratko Mladic had to sign the permission for the observers but was not available. The Serbs claim that the UNPROFOR has failed to demilitarize two other eastern safe havens, Srebrenica and Zepa, and have thus suspended their talks with Morillon.

"We are continuing to bring forward to them (the Serbs) the sense of urgency (for getting into Gorazde) but have to wait for them to come forward to get in," Frewer said. The current U.N. mandate for 8,300 UNPROFOR troops in Bosnia is only to provide humanitarian help.

Frewer said the UNPROFOR had had no new instructions despite the U.N. vote Friday. "We at this time are not prepared to shoot our way in," he said.

Radio Sarajevo reported Sunday that attacks on Gorazde were continuing with defense lines shelled since the early morning. It said seven civilians were wounded and that Serb infantry was attacking from Praca in the northwest and Cajnice in the southeast.

The presidency of Gorazde appealed to Morillon to get food and medical convoys in immediately, the radio said.

U.N. Security Council Resolution 824 on May 6 set up safe areas to protect besieged Moslems in Sarajevo, the eastern regions of Tuzla, Zepa, Gorazde and Srebrenica and the northwest Bihac sector from Bosnian Serb military units.

On May 22 in Washington, the United States, France, Britain, Russia and Spain reinforced the call for safe havens but effectively ruled out Western military intervention to evict the Bosnian Serbs from land they were holding beyond what was granted them in the Vance-Owen peace plan the Serbs had rejected.

The Bosnian government and Bosnian Croats had signed the Vance-Owen plan, which cut back Serb holdings in Bosnia from about 70 to 45 percent.

Izetbegovic reacted angrily to the Washington agreement and called on Bosnians to "unite and to use all the means available so as to defend their independent and sovereign Bosnia and Herzegovina, its integrity and freedom."

Serb Attacks Continue

AU0706092993

[Editorial Report] Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian at 0800 GMT on 7 June carries, in its regular 14-minute newscast, several reports on the continuing fighting in the Republic.

Enes Musevic reports from Gorazde that "the offensive against the town is entering its 12th day. During the last 24 hours, shells have killed six people, three of them children, and wounded 26, including 14 children under 10 years of age. The chetniks are attacking from all directions, using all kinds of weapons. They are pounding the entire defense line around the town, launching infantry attacks at the same time in the region of (?Orahovci) and (?Medena Glavica). These infantry attacks have been repelled." He asks: "Why cannot the international community send U.N. observers to the desperate Gorazde? Has Gorazde been written off?"

Reporting from Maglaj, Hajrudin Sermic says that "at 0340 [0140 GMT] this morning, the enemy launched a fierce artillery and infantry attack on the defense positions. This onslaught is still under way. During four hours alone, about 2,000 destructive projectiles landed on the town from all directions. Seven tanks, two 205-mm howitzers, three 155-mm howitzers, four 122-mm howitzers, six Vis, and four mortar batteries are being used in the attack. Against all odds, the defenders are still holding on, and the front lines remain unchanged."

The Olovo Press Center reports that "the aggressor's heavy artillery has not been still for the last 24 hours. A 105-mm howitzer fired at the town center, yesterday evening, from the region of (?Brdo), and a recoilless gun fired at the defense line in Olovske Luke. The defense lines, however, remain impenetrable."

The Gradacac Information Center reports that "the aggressor keeps using heavy artillery against civilian targets on the free territory. A woman and two little children were killed by a shell yesterday. What can one say to this? Who can one ask for help?" The reports says further that "the attacks were so bad yesterday that it is hard to list all the weapons used and the directions from which they were used. Mortars were pounding Novalici, Vida, and Lukavac, recoilless guns and howitzers were used against Pozarike and Sibovac, and so on. The night brought some peace. There are mortar provocations this morning on the northern part of the front."

In his report from Brcko, Hamiz Deronjic says that "three killed and 10 wounded is the tragic outcome of

yesterday's criminal attack by the chetnik artillery on the free territory. Fierce and constant shelling of the defense lines, once again, spread to the free territory yesterday afternoon. At 1810, the chetniks started pounding heavily inhabited areas with 155-mm howitzer and tanks from Pelagicevo." He says that "the artillery and tank offensive against the Brcko defense positions is in its seventh day and continuing with unabated intensity. The fiercest attacks are directed at the central part of the defense, as the corridor is at its narrowest there. 155-mm howitzers, tanks, recoilless guns, antiaircraft guns, and mortars are directed against Omerbegovaca, Dizdarusa, and Licki Most. Overnight a movement of enemy tanks was reported heading toward our positions. They are positioned at a safe distance and still have not been used."

The studio announcer says that "Sarajevo is generally quiet, but we have to warn the citizens to be wary of sporadic shellings as one shell landed in Novo Sarajevo at about 0900 this morning. The aggressor's snipers are sporadically firing at the intersections."

UNPROFOR Turned Back

LD0506121393 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 5 Jun 93

[Text] The UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] observer team—which was scheduled to go to Gorazde—has returned to Sarajevo. It was not allowed access to Gorazde because of heavy artillery attacks by aggressors. The aggressors are demanding a written permission signed by war criminal Ratko Mladic before the UNPROFOR team can be allowed free movement, but the UN are unable to make contact with the commander of the aggressor army for the time being.

Pleas for Medical Aid

LD0506114193 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 5 Jun 93

[Text] The chetnik offensive on free Gorazde territory continued this morning.

[Correspondent Mustafa Kurtovic] Fierce artillery attacks on defense lines of the 43d Drina Shock brigade from the direction of Cajnice [southeast of Gorazde] are under way.

A fierce shelling of several villages in the zone of responsibility of the First Drina Shock brigade is under way. The villages of [words indistinct] are targeted by the enemy's heavy artillery. Hundreds of shells are falling on this area.

According to intelligence gathered by scout units of the Southeastern Gorazde operational group of the Bosnia-Herzegovina army, chetniks are concentrating forces in the areas of (?Ustikoline, Nekopa, Previle), Kamenica, [words indistinct]. Chetniks are in force in the village of Kamenica and in the (?Glacke) Njive Field.

It is expected that chetniks will launch an attack from this direction.

Gorazde hospital, which is overcrowded, and the Gorazde Red Cross are sending appeals for help. The hospital is short of basic medicines, [word indistinct], heating oil. The hospital warns that it is not able to operate on the seriously wounded. On behalf of wounded civilians and seriously injured fighters, we plead for a team of Medicines Sans Frontiers doctors to be dispatched to Gorazde, who will bring necessary medicines, oxygen, and sanitary material. The Red Cross has sent an appeal for food. Ten thousand fresh refugees from the wider Medjedja, [word indistinct] Ustripaca areas have arrived in Goradze, but how can they be helped when there is no food?

This was Mustafa Kurtovic reporting from the Gorazde press center.

Gradacac Under 'Enemy' Shelling; Situation 'Serious'

LD0506120193 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 5 Jun 93

[Text] The situation is very serious in the town of Gradacac [west of Brcko]. The enemy does not dare to launch infantry attacks, but it is incessantly pounding this town, the information center of the Gradacac war presidency reports.

From 0530 [0330 GMT] this morning, howitzer shells from the direction of [word indistinct] are pounding deep into free Gradacac territory.

Serb Forces 'Liberate' Visegrad Municipality

LD0406142093 Pale Radio-Televizija Republike Srpske Studio-S Radio in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 4 Jun 93

[Excerpts] [Announcer] Following a fierce offensive by the Muslim Army, a counteroffensive over the past three days by the Army of the Serb republic, i.e., units of the Drina Corps, liberated two of the strongest Muslim strongholds, the villages of Medjedja and Ustipraca. The entire area of the Visegrad municipality has thus been liberated. Our correspondent Zoran Jovanovic went to Medjedja after its was liberated:

[Jovanovic] The second day after Medjedja had been liberated we asked Lieutenant Colonel Luka Dragicevic, the commander of the Visegrad Brigade, for an interview to present details of the fighting that took place up until the beginning of June.

[Begin recording] [passage omitted] [Jovanovic] A battle for Ustipraca was waged today. What is the situation at the moment?

[Dragicevic] As I said earlier, Ustiparaca is Serb. We have no problems. The so-called glorious Muslim 1st Brigade is only good at fleeing. There is only one glorious

brigade now, that one being the Visegrad Serb Brigade. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Muslims, Croats Continue Attacks on Serbs in East

LD0606134593 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1301 GMT 6 Jun 93

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, June 6 (TANJUG)—Moslems and Croats continue provocations and attacks on Serb positions, violating the truce in Herzegovina and eastern Bosnia, Bosnian Serb military sources have said.

Croat units opened fire from infantry and anti-aircraft weapons on Serb positions on the Stolac-Capljina line, southern Herzegovina, the same sources said.

On the night of June 5-6, fire was occasionally opened in northern Herzegovina, where Moslem forces were concentrating to begin a new offensive on Gorazde and Cajnice, eastern Bosnia.

Traffic intensified on the roads leading from Croatia and western Herzegovina to Mostar, which indicates that Croatian forces were concentrating in the Neretva River valley, Bosnian Serb military sources said.

Along the left bank of the Drina River,Moslems from Zepa, Srebrenica and the region of Zvornik, eastern Bosnia, violated the truce by attacking Serb positions, the General Staff of the Army of the Serbian republic in Bosnia-Herzegovina said.

On the night of June 5-6, Bosnian Serb forces in the region of Zepa and Srebrenica thwarted an infantry attack of well-armed Moslems.

Bosnian Serb forces thwarted also an all-out Moslem attack on the Serb municipality of Zvornik, Bosnian Serb military sources said.

Muslim, Croat Clashes in Travnik, Vitez, Busovaca

LD0506180693 Pale Radio-Televizija Republike Srpske Studio-S Radio in Serbo-Croatian 1500 GMT 5 Jun 93

[Report by Goran Djuric from Kotor Vares]

[Text] Muslim-Croat clashes are continuing in central Bosnia. Croatian Defense Council [HVO] forces backed by the regular army of the Republic of Croatia launched a fierce infantry attack on Muslim defense lines in Travnik this morning. The fiercest clashes are in progress in the village of Dolac na Lasvi and the Travnik suburb of Sljeme. According to Muslim radio Travnik, hand-to-hand combat is in progress in some parts of the town. Fighting is also raging around Vitez. Bloody clashes between erstwhile allies have been taking place in almost all suburbs of Vitez and the villages of Krcevina, Santici, and Divljaci. Muslim forces commanded by Refik Lendo, a major in the former Yugoslav People's Army, launched fierce attacks on Croat villages around Busovaca. Members of Croat units have been forced to retreat towards Vitez. According to intelligence sources of both warring sides, fighting has been registered around Zenica, Novi Travnik, and Bugojno.

Serb defense lines towards central Bosnia have also been under fire. This morning from the direction of Travnik and Turbe Muslim forces launched a fierce infantry attack on the southern parts of the Vlasic battlefield in the wider area of the villages of Potkraj and Vocnjak. Serb soldiers have repelled this attack, inflicting considerable losses on the enemy.

Muslim, Croat Cease-Fire in Travnik; Attacks Continue

LD0506220193 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in English 2105 GMT 5 Jun 93

[Text] Today in Travnik in a second agreement reached by representatives of the Bosnian army, the HVO [Croatian Defense Council], the UNPROFOR [United Nations Protection Force], and the European Community monitoring mission, the warring sides announced that they are ready to end the fighting and through the help of the protective forces make approach to the wounded possible. Even so, according to the HVO command in Travnik, after this Muslim formations attacked with every means available and reinforced their positions in Dolac, Lasva, and Polje, as well as in outlying Croatian settlements. Muslim forces in Travnik have set up many artillery pieces and one rocket launcher was placed right by a Jesuit high school, from where they are firing on Jankovici and parts of Kalibunar. In the afternoon, the Serbs in Vlasic again attacked Starigrad and Muslim positions in Gradina near Turbe.

Situation 'Dramatic'

LD0606195993 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 6 Jun 93

[Excerpt] According to the command of the Croatian Defense Council's [HVO] Central Bosnia Operational Zone, the situation in central Bosnia, particularly in Travnik, is dramatic this evening. Several Muslim brigades have launched an attack on the town and the nearby Croat villages of Jankovici and Kraljevica. Muslims are launching constant howitzer and mortar attacks on the villages of Bila and Ovcarevo. Columns of Croat refugees are fleeing via Vilenica toward Novi Travnik. The mass arrest of Croat civilians began this morning. There are virtually no Croats left in Travnik town. According to the statement of the Central Bosnia Operational Zone, they have all been arrested.

The head of the HVO's defense department Bruno Stojic has issued an appeal to the UN Protection Force and to Izetbegovic and Halilovic to protect the Croats, i.e. to immediately cease hostilities. [passage omitted]

Croat Leader Calls For Cease-Fire

LD0706074393 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 0700 GMT 7 Jun 93

[Text] As has been reported by the Croatian Defense Council [HVO], Muslims are using their heaviest weapons in their attacks on the Croats in Travnik. Howitzers, cannon, mortars, antiaircraft guns, and heavy machine-guns are being used. Dozens of civilians and soldiers have been killed and over 100 wounded in Travnik. They are impossible to reach even with the help of the international humanitarian organizations. About 3,000 Croats have fled their homes.

Last night, Mate Boban, [president of the Croatian Community of Herzeg-Bosna] phoned Alija Izetbegovic in an attempt to stop Muslim attacks on Travnik and the Lasva river valley. With the aim of normalizing the situation, Boban reminded Izetbegovic of the commitment to honor the cease-fire agreement strictly, and gave him until 1000 this morning to cease all hostilities.

As was reported by the Information Department of the HVO General Staff, Izetbegovic said that hostilities ceased long ago and that he has not received any reports of fresh conflicts.

Muslims Destroy 7 Croat Villages

LD0606220193 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 2050 GMT 6 Jun 93

[Excerpts] Mostar was relatively quiet this week. Muslim snipers targeted the Tihomir Misic barracks and Mostar roads again today but compared to previous weeks the situation is much calmer.

As the tension is easing in the center of the Mostar province, a major Muslim-Croat conflict has broken out in the center of the Travnik province [provinces according to the Vance-Owen plan]. For the second day running Muslim armed forces are carrying out ethnic cleansing and attacking Croat settlements.

According to the Vitez [Croat-held town near Travnik] command of the Central Bosnia Operational Zone [Bosnian Croat forces] the situation is critical in the town of Travnik itself. According to this source dozens of people have been killed and about 100 wounded. Croats have been forced to flee to the hills. The Croat villages of Grahovik, Bojna, Sipovik, Pirota, Slimena, Turici, and Pirici have been completely burned down. A thousand Croats have managed to escape via Vilenica to Novi Travnik. Many arrested Croats have been taken to the fortress in the old part of Travnik and the shelling of the town is continuing with undiminished intensity. [passage omitted]

Motivated by humanitarian reasons and trying to save innocent human lives Mate Boban, president of the Croat Community of Herceg-Bosna, also tried to negotiate an end to the Muslim attack in a direct telephone conversation with Muslim leader Alija Izetbegovic. However, Izetbegovic denied that there are any conflicts in the Travnik area, so Mate Boban informed the cochairmen of the international conference, Lord Owen and Thorvald Stoltenberg about this, and UN Protection Force Commander General Walgren.

HVO Shells Civilian Areas, Power Lines in Mostar

AU0706100093 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 7 Jun 93

[Mostar Press Center report]

[Excerpt] There is still no peace in the Mostar region. Throughout yesterday and overnight, the Croatian Defense Council [HVO] fired antiaircraft guns and machine guns, while automatic weapons, snipers, and mortars were in action along the demarcation line. Several times yesterday, particularly in the evening, the HVO units shelled civilian quarters on the left bank of the Neretva River. The power transmission lines and [words indistinct] were also targeted by the mortars of the HVO and the Croatian Army. The HVO was also provocative against other Mostar defense lines, particularly in (?Zalik) and (?Tekija). The HVO snipers are still active. [words indistinct] a woman was wounded, another one was killed near the medical unit center on the right bank of [word indistinct]. A sniper killed another woman in (?Tekija).

The members of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army are still patrolling the demarcation lines together with the HVO forces and the Croatian Army. These lines have been unchanged for days now. The Fourth Corps Command says that new artillery reinforcements are being brought in to the Croatian Army, and positioned around the city. The Bosnia-Herzegovina Army is determined to defend Mostar from any attack. The Bosnia-Herzegovina Army Command in Mostar has learned through the U.N. observers that there are new initiatives for the resumption of talks with the HVO military commission. The Fourth Corps Command is ready to take a principled and responsible attitude, as it has before, to any negotiations and talks that stem from the obligations indicated in the peace documents in Medjugorje and the implementation of the Vance-Owen plan. [passage omitted]

Muslim Forces Cut Off Water Supply to Zenica, Vitez

LD0506142393 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 5 Jun 93

[Text] Early this morning in the village of Kruscica [near Busovaca] in Vitez municipality, where the sources and reservoirs of the regional water works supplying Vitez and Zenica with drinking water are, Muslim forces cut off water supplies. Consequently, citizens of Vitez and large parts of Zenica are without water.

Croatian Soldiers Deploying in Domanovic, Stolac

LD0506112493 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 5 Jun 93

[Text] There are no significant changes along the defense line of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army units. Yesterday, HVO [Croatian Defense Council] units attacked positions of our defenders, the information and propaganda unit of the Fourth Corps of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army said in a statement for the public.

Fighters of the fourth brigade from Split, so-called Wolves, are deployed in the Domanovic and Stolac areas, preparing for active combat operations. HVO units are thus still receiving help in both men and armament from the units of the foreign Croatian Army.

As for the situation in the town itself, Mostar was relatively calm in [place indinstinct] in the northern part of the front in the past 24 hours. However, the enemy used infantry weapons, and snipers were active on the right bank of the Neretva from which 20 mortar shells were fired on the villages situated on the left bank. There were no losses among our soldiers. However, one soldier sustained injuries.

All defense lines with the enemy are still firmly controlled by our units.

The command of the Fourth Corps of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army and the (?famous) 41st Mostar brigade are supporting the decision of the main committee of the Party of Democratic Action of Bosnia-Herzegovina concerning the appointment of the vice governor and the members of the government of Mostar province and are not accepting the self-appointed candidates—we read in today's statement of the information and propaganda unit of the Fourth Corps. The Mostar press center reporting.

Izetbegovic Conditions Consent to Safe Areas

LD0606211893 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 6 Jun 93

[Text] Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency, should tomorrow give his conditional consent to the implementation of Resolution 836 which provides for the protection of the six safe areas in Bosnia-Herzegovina, it has been learned in Sarajevo from authorized French sources.

During the talks with French Defense Minister Francois Leotard, who visited Sarajevo today, according to the same sources, Izetbegovic put three conditions on the implementation of the resolution:

that the zones should not be closed, and that it should be possible to leave and enter them;

that the zones should not only include the towns, but also surrounding territories;

and finally that Serb heavy artillery should be neutralized.

Following the talks with Izetbegovic, Leotard told journalists that Resolution 836 was the only way to avoid withdrawal of the blue helmets from Bosnia-Herzegovina, and that the establishing of the safe areas was the beginning of the implementation of the Vance-Owen plan.

Karadzic Reacts Positively to Latest UNSC Resolution

LD0506212193 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1657 GMT 5 Jun 93

[Text] Belgrade, 5 Jun (TANJUG)—The latest UN Security Council [UNSC] resolution is basically very useful for Muslims, because it protects them from being completely defeated, and it is not detrimental for Serbs either, because we want the hostilities to cease, Radovan Karadzic, president of the Serb republic [in Bosnia] said in an exclusive statement for SRNA, commenting on UNSC Resolution 826 on the enforcement of six safe areas for Muslims in former Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Karadzic believes that the respite these zones could offer should lead the Muslim population to concludee that peace is better than war, and in this way a change of the policy pursued by the Muslim leadership can be brought about.

Speaking about the part of the resolution that allows blue helmets to use weapons, the president of the Serb republic said that it "does not threaten the Serbs because we have never attacked the UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] so far, because the attitude of the Serb people toward UNPROFOR, the UN High Commissioner for Refugees [UNHCR], and the Red Cross is very positive."

"We shall cooperate with UNPROFOR in the implementation of this resolution and we have no interest in attacking Muslim civilians and UN forces that will be protecting the UN designated areas," Karadzic stressed.

Commenting on statements by cochairmen of the conference on former Yugoslavia Lord Owen and Thorvald Stoltenberg that the Washington agreement does not endorse the alleged Serb occupation, Karadzic said that the Serbs have not occupied anything, because the "Serbs mainly control Serb territories."

"If we marginally control something that belongs to the Croats or Muslims, we are ready to negotiate about that, but only after peace has been restored," Karadzic told SRNA.

French Defense Minister Leotard Reviews Situation

LD0606210093 Paris France-2 Television Network in French 1800 GMT 6 Jun 93

[Video report from Bosnia by unidentified correspondent, including recording of comments by French Defense Minister Francois Leotard]

[Text] [Announcer] Francois Leotard once again visited Sarajevo today to find out from General Morillon the situation in applying the recent UN resolutions. This visit was accompaned by our special envoys Jerome Bony and Roger Motte:

[Correspondent] [video shows Leotard looking at X-ray of injured legionnaire and reviewing soldiers] He now knows that the French Government has decided against sending reinforcements to Bosnia, in order to save money, but also so that more countries take part in the peace force. In General Morillon's armored Renault 25, the French minister also has new maps with him. The UN Security Council's resolution 836 allows for a military escalation for the protection of the civilian population in the security zone:

[Leotard] This is my reason for coming here, to see with those in the field what the application of resolution 836 could involve, in other words, what it would be necessary to strike if there were air strikes, what perimeter would have to be marked out if the security zones are to be given a perimeter. We are also looking into what sort of command structure will be needed.

[Correspondent] The threat of air strikes could be dissuasive for the Serbs whose artillery men are surrounding the security zones, but the first obstacle to this dissuasion comes from Bosnian President Alia Izetbegovic himself, who compares the security zones to Indian reserves, cut off from each other.

[Leotard] I perfectly understand this concern and worry, and the fact is that we have the will to stop a process of degradation, and to consider that the protection of the civilian populations today can been carried out, in part, in any case, on the basis of this concept of security zones.

[Correspondent] Francois Leotard ended his lightning visit to the beseiged Bosnian capital at 1530, with the hope that the blue berets' new mandate will allow them, if not to establish the peace, at least to deal with what is most urgent by protecting the people most immediately threatened.

Spanish UNPROFOR Forces Warn of 'Terrorist' Threat

LD0506164993 Madrid RNE International in Spanish 1300 GMT 5 Jun 93

[Text] The Spanish blue helmets posted in the Mostar region have detected in that location and on the River Neretva route the threat of possible terrorist actions by uncontrolled armed bands belonging to both Croat and Muslim forces. According to sources in the Spanish battalion in Bosnia-Herzegovina, these actions may be carried out against military vehicles of the UN Protection Forces [UNPROFOR] and civilian press vehicles travelling through the area in convoy. The commanders of the Canaries Group—the name of the Spanish battalion in Bosnia-Herzegovina—have ordered light vehicles not to travel through the aforementioned areas without an escort of armored vehicles equipped with 12.7-mm machine guns or 90-mm guns.

The Spanish media reporting on the mission of the Spanish troops in the former Yugoslavia were due to visit the Spanish detachment in Dracevo in Southern Bosnia but the visit has been suspended because of the Spanish military's advice not to travel through that area because of the terrorist threat.

Bosnian Serb Assembly President Receives Serbs From Mostar

LD0606224193 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2058 GMT 6 Jun 93

[Text] Belgrade, 6 Jun (TANJUG)—Momcilo Krajisnik, president of the People's Assembly of the Serb republic [in Bosnia-Herzegovina], today received a delegation of the Serb municipality of Mostar and discussed the current situation in the River Neretva valley, i.e., the regaining of century-old Serb territories that are temporarily occupied by Croatian and Muslim forces, SRNA [Bosnian Serb news agency] reports.

They once more confirmed the shared stance that the Serbs from the River Neretva valley will never, at any cost, give up their religious, cultural, and historical monuments, and that the Neretva will be the western border of the Serb republic, SRNA reports from Pale.

Serb Army: UNPROFOR 'Cheated' on Srebrenica Agreement

LD0306221893 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2059 GMT 3 Jun 93

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 3 Jun (TANJUG)—The final inspection of the demilitarized zone of Srebrenica, scheduled for today, could not take place because the UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] cheated on the agreement, trying to take to Srebrenica Muslim citizens charged with organizing local administration and U.S. experts to test communications, the information service of the General Staff of the Serb republic army announced this evening. [passage omitted]

This task was not carried out because the obligations assumed by UNPROFOR and the so-called army of Bosnia-Herzegovina was not fully completed. Namely, the general staff of the Muslim army did not send a commission to inspect the demilitarized zone and the arms handover, and, consequently, the basic task of the planned visit to Srebrenica could not be completed.

Instead of this commission, the Muslim side sent civilians charged with alleged organization of local administration. Among the civilians was Nijaz Mustafic, earlier responsible for tasks connected with mobilization and security, and now a high-ranking official in Alija Izetbegovic's leadership.

Among the passengers was also an American official, which was not specified in the agreement. In addition to the official interpreter, there were two more people doing the same job who were introduced as Canadian citizens. At a check point, a member of our commission recognized a woman interpreter from Visoko, and the second interpreter later admitted that he was Muslim, a citizen of former Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The commission of the Serb republic army offered on the spot several solutions whereby only the people included in the agreement would go to Srebrenica. However, General Hayes, [chief of the headquarters of UNPROFOR's command for Bosnia] did not accept this and insisted that all people should go, which the Serb commission could not accept.

UNPROFOR thus cheated on the agreement on the final inspection of the demilitarization of Srebrenica, and tried at any cost to take to Srebrenica people who have nothing to do with the planned and arranged mission, the statement says in conclusion.

Details on Combat Units in Bosnia-Herzegovina

93BA1015C Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 7 May 93 p 5

[Article by Veso Stojanov: "Armies on the Territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina"]

[Text] Ljubljana, 6 May—During a possible military intervention in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Western allies and NATO soldiers will also have to take into account the fact that more than 200,000 people in that area are currently under arms.

According to some information, the largest is the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina, which has approximately 120,000 armed soldiers. It is divided into five corps (Sarajevo, Tuzla, Zenica, Mostar, and Bihac), but its biggest shortcoming is poor armament. Specifically, it only has 40 obsolete T-55 and T-34 Soviet-manufactured tanks, approximately 300 pieces of heavy weaponry (cannons, howitzers), and four Mi-8 helicopters.

The second largest is the army of the Serbian republic, which has approximately 60,000 soldiers. Furthermore, approximately 10,000 members of very diverse Serbian paramilitary units are also fighting on its side. Its advantage is primarily in good weaponry, since it has 310-350 tanks, 150-190 M-60 and M-80 armed armored transports, more than 1,200 pieces of heavy weaponry of very diverse calibers, four launchers for Luna R-65 missiles, an air defense regiment with SA-2M Volhov missiles, headquartered in Banja Luka, 10-12 M-8 transport helicopters, seven Gazela-Gama light helicopters, and 12-14 Jastreb and Orel aircraft. Organizationally, the army of the Serbian republic is divided into six corps (I and II Krajina, East Bosnian, Sarajevo-Romanija, Drina, and Herzegovina).

The units of the Croatian Defense Council [HVO] have approximately 40,000 soldiers, who are divided into four operational zones (southeast Herzegovina, northwest Herzegovina, central Bosnia, and Bosanska Posavina). The HVO units are well-armed, since they have 40-60 T-55 and T-34 tanks, more than 500 pieces of heavy weaponry of very diverse calibers, and 150 pieces of mobile antiair missiles.

RSK Serbs Holding Referendum on Joining Bosnian Serbs

LD0506151293 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1426 GMT 5 Jun 93

[Text] Petrinja, 5 Jun (TANJUG)—The assembly of the republic of Serb Krajina at its session in Petrinja today adopted by acclamation a decision to hold a referendum on the unification with the Serb republic [in Bosnia-Herzegovina] and other Serb lands.

According to the decision, citizens of Krajina will vote in the referendum on 19 and 20 June and by encircling "yes" or "no" they will answer the question: "Are you for the unification of the republic of Serb Krajina and the Serb Republic in a single state with a possibility of uniting with other Serb lands?"

A decision has also been made that the assembly of the republic of Serb Krajina will annouce the referendum results at a session in Knin on 23 June, while a joint constituent assembly will be held on 28 June (on St. Vitus Day) [when Serbs lost a decisive battle in 1389 to the Turks in Kosovo], when the first head of [the new united] state is to be elected.

The Krajina parliament also adopted a proposal by Dr. Milan Babic [former RSK president] for Banja Luka to become the capital of the future state.

Serb Leaders Welcome Decision

LD0506172393 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1508 GMT 5 Jun 93

[Excerpt] Petrinja, 5 Jun (TANJUG)—The highest-ranking officials and political leaders of the republic of Serb Krajina [RSK], speaking during a break, very positively assessed the decision of the RSK parliament on holding a referendum on the unification of the RSK and the Serb Republic [RS] in a single state, with a possibility of a unification with other Serb states.

RSK President Goran Hadzic said the aforementioned decision showed that "the Serb people are united, that Serbs think alike in both the republic of Serb Krajina and the Serb Republic."

RS Prime Minister Vladimir Lukic was also satisfied with the decision reached by the RSK Assembly. "Those who know the history of this region and who know the people on both sides of the river Una and at the foot of Mt. Dinara know very well that this is a natural course of events throughout the centuries," said Lukic. [passage omitted]

RSK Assembly Adopts Agenda

LD0506143493 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1342 GMT 5 Jun 93

[Excerpts] Petrinja, 5 Jun (TANJUG)—In a heated atmosphere, amid shouting and whistling, the meeting of the assembly of the republic of Serb Krajina [RSK] in Petrinja adopted an agenda today which includes a motion of no-confidence in the government, RSK President Goran Hadzic, and Parliament President Mile Paspalj.

The deputies agreed without any argument to the main points of the agenda: the political and security situation in the republic of Serb Krajina and the referendum on unification with the Serb Republic and other Serb countries. [passage omitted]

The Assembly is expected to verify the appointments of the deputy prime minister and the new defense minister. TANJUG has learned from an unofficial source that Brigadier General Mirko Bjelanovic from Knin will become the RSK's new defense minister.

RSK Calls For No-Confidence Vote

AU0506155793 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 5 Jun 93

[Ljiljana Letica report from Petrinja]

[Text] Although scheduled to begin at 1000 [0800 GMT], the republican [republic of Serbian Krajina] assembly session in Petrinja started at 1105 with the anthem Lord of Justice, performed by the choir of the First Primary School in Petrinja. An agenda consisting of two items was envisaged for today's session. However, judging by the reactions of the deputies, the agenda has been expanded to 10 points. The original agenda envisages the discussion about the political and security situation and holding of a referendum on the unification of the Serbian Republic and the republic of Serbian Krajina. There are 183 deputies present out of 270. In the first 50 minutes of the session, 10 deputies took the floor and proposed to expand the agenda, mostly by the topics relating to the no-confidence vote in Assembly Chairman Mile Paspalj and President of the Republic Goran Hadzic, and holding of the elections.

Judging by what has been happening so far, we can say that Minister [not further identified] Veselinovic demanded a no-confidence vote in the government, Deputy Caslav Niksic demanded a no-confidence vote in Mile Paspalj, Savo Davidovic, deputy from Vukovar, a no-confidence vote in Goran Hadzic, while deputy from Kordun Milos Vukovic won the applause of the present deputies by saying that the elections should be held as quickly as possible and that we cannot be democrats while we are exporting [word indistinct] to Serbia, hinting at the people from the government and smuggling of wood.

Mr. Veselinovic said for Serbian Radio Petrinja that he demanded the replacement of the government and Goran Hadzic, because they had not been performing up to their duties and had acted to the detriment of the people of Krajina. Head of Krajina Radicals Rade Leskovac champions a similar view, criticizing Goran Hadzic

for failing to organize the elections, the present chaotic situation, and the malfunctioning of a law-governed state.

We must emphasize that the guests from the Serbian Republic are also present here—namely—Dr. Milanovic, vice president of the Serbian Republic Assembly, Prime Minister Mr. Lukic, and deputy Radoslav Brdjanin. Mr. Milanovic has just spoken and, among other things, said: The people of the Serbian Republic at their referendum opted for the common life of the Serbs and unification. We have made one step, and now it is up to you, brothers from the Serbian Krajina, to make the same such step.

Currently, Dr. Milan Babic, president of the Serbian Democratic Party, is speaking in the crowded hall of the Vuk Stepanovic Karadzic cultural center.

No-Confidence Motion Removed

LD0506210293 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1710 GMT 5 Jun 93

[Text] Petrinja, 5 Jun (TANJUG)—The assembly of the republic of Serb Krajina [RSK] removed from the agenda the item concerning the motion of no-confidence in the government, in RSK President Goran Hadzic, and in Assembly President Mile Paspalj.

This decision was made at the proposal of deputy Lazar Macura from Knin, who was joined by Svetozar Vincic from Dvor na Uni. They said that the question of confidence in the government, in Hadzic, and in Paspalj was not necessary after today's unanimous decision to hold a referendum on the unification of the RSK with the Serb Republic.

A discussion on the implementation of general parliamentary elections in the RSK was also removed from the agenda and the same explanation was given.

RSK Assembly Adjourns; Differences Noted

LD0506130193 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1202 GMT 5 Jun 93

[Text] Petrinja, 5 Jun (TANJUG)—Immediately after the opening of the 10th session of the Krajina parliament and in spite of pleas for unity made by Speaker Mile Paspalj, some substantive differences over essential issues became prominent.

The deputies did not agree to discuss just the political situation in the republic of Serb Krajina [RSK] and the decision to call a referendum on unification with the Serb republic [in Bosnia-Herzegovina] and other Serbian lands, but have raised other issues, such as a no-confidence motion in the government of RSK president Goran Hadzic and Assembly Speaker Mile Paspalj.

Deputy David Rastovic from Srb asked why the anthem "God of Justice" was not played in its original form and why the RSK coat of arms does not have a crown. At that moment, and at the proposal of Speaker Paspalj, the Assembly adjurned its work for consultations and for a change of decor in the hall where the Assembly is seating.

A delegation of the Serb republic headed by Prime Minister Vladimir Lukic, Krajina party leaders, and representatives of the Krajina military authorities are attending the session of the Krajina parliament.

HVO Official Sends Letter to Owen on Travnik

LD0506183593 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 5 Jun 93

[Report by Zdenko Vranjes from Bosnia-Herzegovina]

[Excerpt] In connection with the all-out attack on the Croatian Defense Council [HVO] in Travnik Bruno Stojic, head of the HVO Defense Department, has sent a letter to the co-chairmen of the Conference on Former Yugoslavia, the United Nations Protection Force [UNPROFOR], and Muslim leaders in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Stojic said in his letter that the intention of the Muslim political leadership was to ethnically cleanse central Bosnia of the HVO, described the difficult situation in which Croats in Travnik were living, and appealed to the co-chairmen to use their authority so that the political leadership of Muslim people could stop this offensive. He demanded that Izetbegovic and Halilovic order their units to end all hostilities directed against Croats and the HVO. [passage omitted]

Croats Fire on UN-Protected Krajina Area

LD0606180893 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1731 GMT 6 Jun 93

[Text] Belgrade, June 6 (TANJUG)—The general staff of the army of the republic of Serb Krajina said on Sunday that the forces of the former Yugoslav republic of Croatia had opened mortar fire at Krajina's south and were regrouping their forces along the border with that part of Krajina.

Krajina was proclaimed a U.N. protected area (UNPA) after clashes between Croatian forces, fighting for Croatia's secession, and local Serbs and the former Yugoslav People's Army in the summer of 1991. Despite the fact that Krajina is an UNPA, Croatia launched an aggression on southern Krajina in January 22 this year, and it has not stopped attacking although the U.N. Security Council warned that all troops must be withdrawn to earlier positions.

The statement by the Krajina army general staff underscored that there were provocations by Croatian forces in all border regions of Krajina on Sunday, and attempts at minor infantry penetrations and infiltrations of subversive-terrorist groups.

The Krajina army answered all the attacks, said the statement.

Commando Team 'Liquidated'

LD0506141793 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1345 GMT 5 Jun 93

[Text] Belgrade, June 5 (TANJUG)—The Croatian Army has over the past 24 hours been opening intensive artillery fire all along the front with the republic of Serbian Krajina (RSK) in northern Dalmatia, the general staff of the RSK army said on Saturday.

The strongest attacks were launched in the southern section of the front, where Croatian forces used multi-rocket launchers.

The Croatian Army opened artillery fire also on Benkovac, a town in the south-west of the RSK.

Intensive activities of the Croatian Army, including re-grouping and reinforcements, have been noticed all along the RSK-Croatia border, which indicates a possible escalation of Croatia's aggression on the RSK.

The RSK was proclaimed in the predominantly Serb-populated parts of the former Yugoslav Republic of Croatia, after Croatia's secession from the former Yugoslavia.

The RSK has been a U.N.-protected area since the beginning of 1992, but this did not prevent Croatia from beginning the aggression on the republic on January 22 this year.

The aggression continues, despite the U.N. Security Council resolution which called for withdrawal of Croatia's forces to initial positions.

RSK President Goran Hadzic himself said on Friday that Croatia was concentrating troops on the border with the RSK for "further escalation of the aggression."

The recently liquidated Croatian commando team intended to cause an ecologic catastrophe in the Plitvice Lakes National Park by blowing up barriers, and to attack U.N. peace keeping troops, which they would later blame on Serbs, information service of the RSK army told TANJUG on Saturday.

Five members of the infiltrated commando team were liquidated, while two Serbs were killed and four wounded in the action.

RSK Reaction

AU0406154493 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1440 GMT 4 Jun 93

[Danko Peric report from Knin]

[Text] As was announced a short while ago, a session of the republic of Serbian Krajina's Supreme Defense Council was held in Knin today. It was proposed at the session that Major General Mirko Bjelanovic serve as defense minister in the Krajina government. The president of the republic, Goran Hadzic, addressed the citizens of Serbian Krajina after the session, and stressed that Croatian forces are again conducting a general mobilization and regrouping their units along the borders with the Serbian Krajina and the Serbian republic [of Bosnia-Herzegovina]. Hadzic says that they have engaged mercenaries and professional killers from abroad:

[Begin Hadzic recording] We are going to continue conducting a policy which will lead to a peaceful solution of the conflict, but not to the disadvantage of the territorial integrity, independence, and freedom of the Serbian people in the republic of Serbian Krajina. [Word indistinct] to stress that in case of an attack on any part of the republic of Serbian Krajina's territory, this time we are going to respond with all means at our disposal against the most sensitive military targets throughout Croatia.

The Supreme Defense Council adopted a unanimous position toward this issue at today's session. I am convinced that it is clear to the Croatian people that they cannot achieve anything through war, and that new aggression will only lead to new casualties and material damage. I call on all citizens of the republic of Serbian Krajina to get even more involved in the defense of the homeland and to contribute to its liberation. [end Hadzic recording]

RSK Says Croatia Preparing Attack

LD0506181293 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1701 GMT 5 Jun 93

[Text] Belgrade, June 5 (TANJUG)—The Republic of Croatia is preparing a new aggression on the Republic of Serb Krajina [RSK], instead of withdrawing from this United Nations Protected Area (UNPA) in agreement with U.N. Security Council Resolution 802, said a letter by Krajina President Goran Hadzic to U.N. Protection Force [UNPROFOR] Commander for Former Yugoslavia General Lars-Eric Wahlgren, the Krajina news agency ISKRA said on Saturday.

ISKRA said that Hadzic sent the same letter also to Deputy UNPROFOR Commander and Director of Civil Affairs Cedric Thornberry. The objective of the letters is to prevent new bloodshed and destruction.

Hadzic said in the letter that Croatia was carrying out mobilization in a number of cities.

Krajina was proclaimed an UNPA early last year after armed clashes broke out following Croatia's secession by force from the former Yugoslav federation.

Krajina was attacked by Croatia on January 22 this year and has refused to withdraw its troops despite warnings from the U.N. Security Council that all troops must be returned to their earlier positions.

Hadzic warned that if the Croatian Army attacks again, Krajina will answer with all available means and against the most sensitive military targets in the entire territory of the Republic of Croatia.

Croatia Amassing Troops

LD0406162093 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1525 GMT 4 Jun 93

[Text] Belgrade, 4 Jun (TANJUG)—Goran Hadzic, president of the republic of Serb Krajina [RSK], said in Knin today that "Ustasha armed formations are mobilizing and amassing their troops in border areas with the RSK," ISKRA reports.

In a statement for the public, which was handed to ISKRA following a session of the RSK Supreme Defense Council held in Knin, Hadzic stresses that Croatian units intend "to escalate the aggression" and that they are "grouping forces in the temporarily occupied territories and in all areas along the border with RSK territory."

The RSK president stresses that Croats "have regrouped professional units along sectors bordering RSK territory from Sinj, Sibenik, Zadar, Gosipc, Ogulin, Karlovac, Sisak, western Slavonia, Belisce, Osijek, and Vinkovci."

Hadzic stresses that the RSK will continue "to pursue a policy leading to a peaceful resolution of conflicts but not to the detriment of the territorial integrity, independence, and freedom of the RSK people."

The statement then warns that in the event of an attack on any part of RSK territory, the Serb side "will respond with all available means against the most sensitive targets on the entire Croatian territory." Hadzic stresses that the RSK Supreme Defense Council adopted this stance unanimously.

Tudjman Invites Help in Solving Conflict

AU0406130193 Paris AFP in English 1234 GMT 4 Jun 93

[Text] Zagreb, June 4 (AFP)—Croatian President Franjo Tudjman has written to U.N. Secretary General Butrus Butrus-Ghali asking him to visit Croatia to help settle conflict with Serbians who have declared their own republic in the Krajina region.

The letter, published in Friday's [4 June] edition of the VJESNIK newspaper, expressed "great concern" that the breakaway enclave's "parliament" was to meet on Saturday [5 June] to discuss a referendum on integrating Krajina with Serbia.

The session chaired by the "parliament's" speaker Mile Paspalj is to be held in Petrinja, a Croatian town 50 kilometres (30 miles) from Zagreb which has been in Serbian hands since September 1991.

Paspalj, quoted in the Belgrade daily POLITIKA Friday, did not confirm if the referendum was an agenda item, saying only that the self-proclaimed parliament "might possibly examine" the issue at Saturday's session.

Tudjman wrote that the Serbians had unilaterally broken off talks with the Croatian authorities on normalisation of relations. Serbian attacks were continuing in Croatian territory where the U.N. Protection Force was stationed, which was an "absolutely unacceptable" threat to Croatian territorial integrity, the letter said.

The Serbs were also targeting civilians in the southern towns of Zadar, Sibenik, Biograd and Gospic. "We are extremely worried by the train of events," Tudjman said.

He asked Butrus-Ghali to set up effective international supervision of the embargo against Serbia and to protect the internationally recognised frontiers between Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina and Serbia.

As to outside charges that Croatia was involved in the fighting in Bosnia, the letter proposed that U.N. Protection Force (UNPROFOR) monitor the Croatian border with Bosnia.

The U.N. Security Council is to meet soon on extending the UNPROFOR mandate in Croatia for six more months. Tudjman urged last week that the mandate be revised to allow the use of force.

Fresh Croat Attack on Sitnica Area

LD0606110293 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0911 GMT 6 Jun 93

[Text] Sitnica, 6 Jun (TANJUG)—At 2145 last night armed forces of the Croatian Army, deployed in the Konavli and Dubravka region, opened fire with 12.7-mm Browning machineguns on positions of the Yugoslav Army in the Sitnica area from positions on Pelimovo Brdo, the information service of the Yugoslav Navy Command reported.

Again this morning, at 0610 Croatian armed forces fired five 82-mm mortar shells from the Dubravka region on our positions in the Sitnica area.

According to latest information no one was injured and the Yugoslav Army did not respond.

The Yugoslav Navy Command immediately filed a strong protest with UNPROFOR representatives after which Croatian operations stopped.

A total of 220 days have passed since the redeployment [predislokacija] of the Yugoslav Army from the region of Zupa Dubrovacka, Konavli, and Prevlaka. During this period the Croatian side violated the Cosic-Tudjman agreement 100 times precisely.

Serbs Persecute Croats in Occupied Areas

LD0406201593 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 4 Jun 93

[Text] Serbs continue to persecute the few remaining Croats in the occupied area of the Drnis municipality. The mayor of Drnis has notified the UN Protection Force of the latest incident in which all residents of the Croat village of Lisnjak were expelled. The remaining residents, the youngest of which is 60 years old and the oldest 94, have been taken to a camp near Kistanje.

Tudjman Arrives in China

LD0606123893 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1200 GMT 6 Jun 93

[Text] Croatian President Franjo Tudjman has arrived in China where he will stay several days at the invitation of Chinese President Jiang Zemin, HINA reports. I am expecting a comprehensive development of relations between China, as one of the world's largest countries, and Croatia, said President Tudjman on arrival at the airport in Shoudu.

Shadow Government Prime Minister Interviewed

93BA1042A Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 14 May 93 pp 32-33

[Interview with Dr. Goran Granic, shadow prime minister of the Croatian Social-Liberal Party, by Aleksa Crnjakovic; place and date not given: "We Are in Training To Govern"]

[Text] For a long time now it is well-known that the Liberals, following the traditions of certain European countries, have decided to establish a shadow government. Dr. Goran Granic, a man about whom little is known, has been named the pretendent prime minister. He says of himself:

"I was born in Baska Voda in 1950. My father was a butcher, my mother a housewife. I have a brother who is better known than I am. We grew up in a family which raised its children in the Catholic spirit and in which a high value was placed on work. Those were times that did not favor people who wanted to live their life regardless of the party and who openly rejected rigid communist ideology. Those were times in which private operators were suspicious for no other reason than that. By the very fact that you are situated, and we did have a large house, that you did not expect anything from the government, that you are independent you become dangerous. Inspectors would often come to my father's butcher shop, some 20 of them, and they would oversee whether my father was putting his thumb on the scale. They would turn back customers from the door, they would measure the weight of what they had purchased. There was a perpetual suspicion of a desire to steal something, of a desire to deceive someone! Whenever a campaign would begin to investigate the origin of property, they would begin with us."

[Crnjakovic] How is it that two brothers have taken what might be said to be differing political roads?

[Granic] We get along very well, but from early on each has had his own road and his own interests. No one tries to impose his view of the world. I was never politically active. That being the case, I became a member of the Managing Board of the Community of the Croatian Electric Power Industry. The environment was stimulating for specialists, completely apolitical, there were no pressures concerning advancement. I worked with exceptional experts like Professors Pozar or Udovicic.

[Crnjakovic] Nevertheless, you got into politics. Why?

[Granic] At a certain point, I judged that it would be disastrous for Croatia if the HDZ [Croatian Democratic Union] did not have an alternative. And at that time I posed myself the question of whether I had the right to be angry at the government if I was secretly waiting for someone else to solve the problems. That was the time when as general director of the Electric Power Industry I came into conflict with the government at that time, which was headed by Mr. Manolic. We differed over a personnel matter. I was never a supporter of large-scale removal of "red" directors. After five months, I resigned from my position, withdrew into professional isolation, and, fortunately for the profession, joined some 40 specialists in preparing one of the best and most complex projects, running to 1,800 pages, about possible development of the Croatian Electric Power Industry. I was involved in my profession, but I was also increasingly present in the HSLS [Croatian Social-Liberal Party].

[Crnjakovic] Why did you choose the HSLS?

[Granic] I am a Liberal by nature, but sentiments also prevailed. That is, Drazen Budisa was the president of us students at the university, and I have deep memories that bind me to that period. In addition, that party believes that politics must open the way for the profession. Unless there are people on the political scene who are deeply aware of the role of specialists, the profession will not be able to give Croatia the dimension which it needs now.

[Crnjakovic] Where are the Liberals headed?

[Granic] Our party has been a surprise for everyone. It has actually been a lasting surprise for everyone. People are constantly asking themselves how it is possible for the influence of the Liberals and the number of supporters of that party to grow so rapidly, and they continue to think that there is something accidental about it. There is no surprise, it is a question of painstaking effort. Few people know that I am in a way responsible for the strategy of both the first and the second election campaign of the HSLS, that I was the principal author of the campaign platform, and that from the background I contributed to making our growth real, not just declarative and promotional. A very well-thought-out political plan stands behind it.

[Crnjakovic] Your goal is to take power?

[Granic] Our goal is a modern Croatia.

[Crnjakovic] How to arrive at it?

[Granic] Our assessment is that we will not arrive at a modern and democratic Croatia unless we take considerably more part in the government.

[Crnjakovic] When will that be?

[Granic] After the next election.

[Crnjakovic] Early elections?

[Granic] Why? We are supporters of a responsible politics, which means that nothing should be done to destabilize Croatia. It is important to know the sequence of things: first the interest of Croatia, and only afterward the interest of the party. No party, not even the incumbent party, can mobilize the complete, quality, and creative body of Croatia to build the Croatian state, which is economically isolated, on the verge of collapse, and a third of it is occupied. A clear national program ought to be defined before the next election, one that can win the support of a majority of the citizens and of all the political parties.

[Crnjakovic] You have become the shadow prime minister. Who are your ministers?

[Granic] I still have not decided whether the shadow government will have the same organization as the current one. In about three weeks, I will set up the organization, draft the documents, and I will know the names of the shadow ministers. The Grand Council of the HSLS would then make a decision.

[Crnjakovic] What is the point of a shadow government?

[Granic] We want to monitor the government's moves, but we ourselves also want to learn to govern. We want to prepare ourselves for the responsibility. In addition, on behalf of Croatia's stability we need a dialogue between the opposition and the government, and I think that it is useful for our shadow ministers to talk to the ministers in power and also the prime minister with the "prime minister." Cooperation of the shadow government and the government in power might be beneficial to Croatia. That is the British model. It is clear that here we are not disputing the right of the incumbent party to have the government it wishes.

[Crnjakovic] But we cannot measure the level of our democracy against that of Britain. Are you not skipping some steps?

[Granic] No. Even a road seven miles long begins with the first step. We think that this is that step. In addition, the "training" at government will also be of use to our party.

[Crnjakovic] Is it not enough to get training in the Assembly? Are you satisfied with Croatian parliamentarianism?

[Granic] There is more and more tolerance and mutual respect in the Assembly. It sometimes bothers me that the ministers refuse a reasonable proposal which is submitted to them solely because it comes from the opposition benches. But probably the problem lies in their insecurity. The strange personnel policy probably awakens insecurity in the ministers, because each of them could be "on the ice" in three months. People react defensively, they do not want to take a risk. Personal protection is the best—reject the proposal. Do you know that I have had deputy ministers apologize to me for rejecting my proposal? In the Assembly, I mainly operate as a specialist, less as a politician.

Because we favor clear relations among all participants in the exercise of power, we feel that in Croatia there is a predominance of the executive power over the legislative power, that the Assembly has been pushed to the margin, perhaps also because of the person of the president of the republic, who has created a certain work habit, concentrating all of political life around himself and the government, which up to now has figured as the "staff office" of Mr. Tudjman. Laws are adopted in the Assembly and there is discussion of strictly controlled issues. As though the Assembly, for example, was not up to discussing our policy toward Bosnia and Herzegovina. The upshot is that only the privileged can discuss that.

[Crnjakovic] Has not the Assembly turned into a kind of debating society anyway?

[Granic] Unless there is talk in the Assembly, there will be talk in the street.

Croatian Citizens' Initiative on Free Media

93BA1037A Belgrade VREME in Serbo-Croatian 10 May 93 p 31

[Article by Boris Raseta: "The Idea of Freedom"; reprinted from the first issue of the periodical ARKZIN, the fanzine of the Croatian Antiwar Campaign, published 1 April 1993 in Zagreb]

[Text] Few people believed during the first multiparty elections that the position of the media in Croatia in the postelection period would be decided in such a dramatic way. Nevertheless, a kind of state of emergency prevails today in the sector of journalism. Navigation between the Scylla of political pressures and the Charybdis of economic destitution is extremely strenuous, and usually the result is quite uncertain. What is more, many ask themselves what is the use? Communism made political "realists"—who and out of what motives would sacrifice himself for some completely abstract idea of freedom?

The phrase newly coined by newspeak "communication media" has proven to be inadequate in a linguistic sense, but it revealed quite well the intention of the government toward the media. "It is obvious that the party in power is systematically smothering the freedom of the media, it has completely choked off television and radio, and it has brought boards of directors into a majority of the independent newspapers. There simply is no place any longer where one can publish an article critical of the incumbent party or of the government. (...) This is a persistent attempt to suppress all critical thinking...," says Miko Tripalo. It seems, unfortunately, that Tripalo is right: It turns out that this is a system in which nothing happens by accident. GLAS SLAVONIJE, NOVI LIST, Croatian Television and Radio, DANAS and NOVI DANAS, SLOBODNA DALMACIJA.... By cybernetic logic: the system does not tolerate foreign bodies. This process is negative in at least two ways: First, the relative

foreign factors are creating a disproportionately adverse picture of Croatia, it is being denied entry in various international institutions, access to credit, inclusion in incentive programs of various kinds, and second, free thought really is paralyzed for a certain period of time, which could have far-reaching consequences.

It was in that context that on 14 April 1992 the Citizens' Initiative for the Freedom of Public Speech began its effort; this is an independent association of citizens whose exclusive goal—as in fact can be seen from the title—is to work for emancipation of the medium from the government clampdown and for a free and independent journalism in which the journalist will—finally—be something more than a mere relay passing on what certain bigwigs think. "The members of the initiative have been meeting regularly, once a week, for almost a year now. We can operate only publicly and only by issuing an appeal. There is a lot of work: A new model of fitness has been introduced, individuals or entire editorial staffs that do not conform to that model are being discharged (usually these are excellent professionals and people with a backbone), sound laws are frequently being evaded, and certain key laws have not even been adopted.... In that context, we represent a kind of conscience: I think that this is an integral part of a pluralistic landscape, because too often we forget that pluralism nevertheless does not mean just parties, but also associations of citizens, movements, lobbies, and pressure groups," says Nikola Gamilec, first president of the Citizens' Initiative.

The limp reaction of the opposition to the neck-wringing of the independent newspapers surprised many people. It is still difficult to believe that it is a question of being caught at a loss. This kind of development of events suits many people, partly because of old bias, partly for other reasons. The head of the largest opposition party in Croatia says that "freedom of the media does not exist to anywhere near the degree we would like, but I can say anything I like"; and then that the "situation on Croatian TV is disastrous, but there does exist Independent TV, watched, to be sure, in a small area...," and "we in the opposition can say there everything we think." If we pursue that logic, if Independent TV did not exist, then they would find Radio Pusca-Bistra or Radio Zabok, and in the case of extreme necessity there still would be the coffeehouse, the corso, and similar places—in any case, much more can be said with impunity than under communism, and no sensible person would assert the contrary. But is that tiny progress sufficient reason for satisfaction or even passivity? It is true that in Croatia today it is possible to publish an article regardless of content, but as a matter of fact access to the mass media is denied to most sensitive topics or "unsuitable" individuals. Put simply: no one will any longer prohibit samizdat, but you do not have access to the distribution monopoly of VJESNIK, television, radio....

That is precisely why support is being given to the Citizens' Initiative by a number of prestigious figures on the Croatian intellectual scene, who stand behind its appeals: Ivan Zvonomir Cicak, Zarko Puhovski, Silvije Degen, Nikola Gamilec, Ivan Gecan, Srdjan Dvornik, Zivko Gruden, Zvonko Letica, Gordana Grbic, Vesna Kesic, Bozo Novak, Slobodan Budak, Zarko Modric, Sanja Modric (the late Kresimir Dzeba was one of the founders) as well as a large number of journalists, lawyers, university professors....

"We have reacted every time pressure was put on the media: And every time we have had support from an extremely broad group of intellectuals of diverse political orientation and party allegiance, who realize that freedom of the press is over and above the interests of any party and that a democratic consensus must be created on this issue in Croatia, because this issue is one of those decisive to the future development of overall democracy in Croatia. We have formulated all our appeals by consensus, which confirms that these are values above party," Gamilec says, "and the soundness of this judgment is being confirmed with each passing day—in the negative sense, unfortunately—in the government's communication with international institutions, who often are making acceptance or more intensive cooperation with Croatia conditional precisely upon a change of the situation in the media. One of the most important reasons why Croatia has not been accepted into the Council of Europe is precisely the situation of the freedom of the press, but information about this is hardly reaching the public, and the public is once again being assured that there are plots, anti-Croatian lobbies, and so on. What is more, we do not even have a law on private television and radio stations; the official explanation that this is the case for technical reasons is simply inaccurate. We have also written on several occasions to the Croatian Assembly, only once have we received a reply...."

Gamilec's words demonstrate very graphically the sad situation of the freedom of the press in our country. In an extensive document entitled "Mediji u Hrvatskoj: stanje stvari" ("The Media in Croatia: The State of Affairs"), the Citizens' Initiative has described in detail in its 24 pages all the problems which we have just mentioned here. In any case (unfortunately), by all appearances there will be quite a bit of work in the future for the initiative, whose new president is the prestigious Croatian journalist Zvonko Letica.

Comparison of Economic Pressures on Croatia, FRY

93BA1041A Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 10 May 93 p 9

[Article by Ivo Jakovljevic: "Croatia Is in No Hurry!"]

[Text] For all of 33 months now a state of war has lasted with varying intensity, but in the same direction, between Serbia (and Montenegro) as the aggressor and Croatia as the country defending itself against that aggression. But for all of two years now there has also been the gravest economic depression in the history of

these two neighboring countries, and it seems to be threatening ever more seriously their military power either for resumption of the aggression (in the case of the so-called FRY or for successful defense (in the case of Croatia). But since to this day the possibility of effective allied military intervention (United Nations, NATO, Russia) is full of riddles, unknowns, controversies, and objectives that remain cloudy (just as was the case a year ago), the pragmatic question remains: How much longer can the present intensity of economic efforts be withstood by Serbia as the aggressor (not only in Croatia, but also in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and indeed even in Kosovo), and how long by Croatia as the country defending itself?

World history is full of dramatic military conflicts indicating the possibility of protracted warfare between an aggressor and a victim when it comes to the "seismic" zones on the geopolitical map. From Alexander the Great and Caesar to Napoleon, Hitler, or Stalin, under diverse circumstances and with variable fortunes of war, war has been waged in various parts of the world "for" and "against" the current "great idea" in rather lengthy, exhausting, and uncertain epics. To those who have witnessed the wars and taken part in them, it has seemed, and probably it has always been so on all bad occasions, that "this could not last long" or that "it is all over in a few days," that is, that the next diplomatic effort or the military counterstrike already announced signify the end of the war and just punishment for the aggressor. But in any area that is at all seismic there has never been a war in history that has not lasted not just years and years, but truly too long for a majority of its participants and victims. Does that truth also hold in the case of the Serbian aggression against the Republic of Croatia and also to the case of the Croatian painful, but also increasingly effective, defense?

Combating the Sanctions With War Booty

With its aggression against Croatia and then also against Bosnia and Herzegovina, Milosevic's Serbia in the early going (i.e., in the latter half of 1991 and first half of 1992) gained immense material advantage thanks to war booty: It appropriated to itself almost the entire former Yugoslav defense industry and most of the military equipment of the JNA [Yugoslav People's Army], and in addition it looted numerous business firms, banks, homes, apartments, and farms in the area occupied. When we also include the gain from the prior "attacks" on the Yugoslav monetary system and from hijacking the joint foreign exchange reserves, according to official figures which are still incomplete, Serbia realized a gain of about $45 billion! At the same time, its aggressive machine inflicted war damages of about $20 billion on Croatia. But at the same time it lost most of the former "unified Yugoslav market": Croatia as its principal trading partner, Slovenia, and most of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

At the same time, Serbia and Montenegro have been facing ever tighter international trade sanctions. Thus, the economic impact of the state of war at the beginning of the third wartime year is today more serious in Serbia as the aggressor than in Croatia, which is defending itself against aggression. In Serbia, that is, both inflation and the rate of unemployment and also the economic depression are greater than in Croatia, although on the territory of the so-called FRY not a single house or a single factory has been destroyed in the war, nor has the Croatian side damaged or looted a single dwelling there.

It seems that today Serbia is in a hurry to end the war with at least the illusion of a Pyrrhic victory. But Croatia is in no hurry! That is why Croatia can continue to seek peaceful political solutions that would "cool off" the wartime disputes and return authority over the territories, with the fewest casualties and smallest damage, to the prewar status. The reason for this increasingly visible difference in the timing of the war between Croatia and Serbia can be found in the increasingly disastrous impact of the international sanctions, the wartime "victories," and the increasingly obvious crimes of its own on the stability of the government in Serbia itself, by contrast with the effects of Croatian military-political tactics over the long run, which from week to week have been demonstrating their increasingly certain benefit.

Serbia has waded into hyperinflation, which even 1923 Germany could not withstand longer than six months without a decisive counterstrike. Croatia, however, is still managing to hold inflation in the controlled zone of a monthly growth of 20-30 percent. Serbia is suffering greater damage from the increasingly firm international trade embargo than Croatia is losing because of continuation of what amounts to its financial isolation of the West (because of the high risk of the war). Serbia is recording an ever larger drop in production with every passing month; relative to the prewar year of 1989, that decline is larger than in Croatia.

At the same time, Croatia is fighting resiliently to revive supply and trade in the free area, market institutions, and ties with the world in order to prove itself to be a vital and promising economy under desperate wartime circumstances. The black market and smuggling of absolutely everything are spreading today in both Croatia and Serbia, but the gray economy in Croatia now represents less than two-fifths of the national product, while in Serbia it is creating half of all GNP! Finally, the national product of the so-called FRY was last year even smaller than that of Slovenia: It amounted to only $12 billion! (At the same time, Slovenia has also fallen into a depression because of the loss of "southern markets," so that in the first three months of 1992 it had a national product smaller by one-third than in the same period of 1989!)

The high expenditures for attack and defense in both Serbia and in Croatia have for two and a half years now been creating an ever more difficult situation with social welfare, which by the nature of things always has a lower threshold of supportability in the country that is the victim of aggression than in the country that is the

aggressor. The concept of aggression, on behalf of an expanded Serbia, has in the past three years turned Serbia into a dictatorship stable for the present, while in Croatia—the country exposed to that aggression—even the darkest scenes of the enemy's violence have not threatened the transition already begun toward the world of parliamentary democracy, a multiparty system, and an open economy. Given the economic trends we have mentioned and the ever narrower political circumstances, however, how long can Croatia as the victim and Serbia as the aggressor compete with weapons, how much more economic effort can they squeeze out to achieve their own political objectives, which continue to be in extreme opposition to one another?

The Limits of Wartime Capabilities

In World War II, Germany waged war against the whole world for seven years until through its conquests and the horror of war it created the political conditions for effective allied military action toward a single objective. Iran and Iraq waged war almost 10 years with variable military intensity, Israel is waging war even today against the Palestinians and neighboring Arabs (45 years after the last rebirth of their state). What might the fate of Croatia be in that context? Neither Serbia nor Croatia objectively have the economic strength for a prolonged total war of high intensity, under the circumstances of the trade sanctions and financial isolation, but—unless there is allied military intervention soon to reestablish stable peace in the extended Yugoslav area—they could by all appearances hold out a long time yet in a conflict of medium intensity, perhaps even more than five years!

But the economic and social consequences for both Croatia and especially for Serbia and Montenegro would be disastrous (lastingly). In that case, both sides would have to resort to the conventional measures of a wartime economy, the rationing of consumption, complete militarization, but they would also expose themselves to immense new casualties and war damage on both sides that are difficult to predict. Incidentally, in both Serbia and Croatia opportunities still exist to finance war expenditures at the expense of the quality of life.

Is it not that inevitable apocalyptic vision of a "new Stone Age" in this region that is the key reason why Milosevic's war headquarters has seemed in recent days to "come to its senses," offering its supposedly peacemaking face to the broadest world public?

If that is really the case with the Serbian political mind, Croatia has no reason now to be in a hurry at all: neither militarily nor diplomatically, but should rather behave as a sovereign state which only wants peace and democracy throughout its entire territory, but also an equally stable peace in B-H, which has now been destroyed. But if in the end this is just another in the series of wartime illusions, if in no case that has come about (yet), Croatia has still less reason for either military or diplomatic haste. It will be enough, when the moment comes for allied military intervention, to commit itself with all its forces to the coalition force. For that matter, at present the end of this war is just barely coming into view.

Consequences of the War in the Economy: Figures as of April 1993

Indicators	Croatia	Serbia and Montenegro
1. Industrial output (compared to last April)	+ 1.2%	- 40%
2. Rate of actual unemployment	17.0%	55%
3. Inflation (monthly)	22.9%	120%
4. Average salaries in German marks (at rate on black market)	120.0	60
5. Anticipated drop of national product in 1993 (compared to 1989)	- 50.0%	- 55%

Sources: Bureau of Statistics of the Republic of Croatia, Federal Bureau of Statistics of the FRY, estimates of THE FINANCIAL TIMES, and figures from the black market.

Federal

Resolution Seen as Beginning of Military Intervention

AU0506174993 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 5 Jun 93

[Slavoljub Susic commentary]

[Text] After the adoption of the latest Resolution No. 824 of the UN Security Council, which broadens the hitherto mandate of the UN peace troops stationed in former Bosnia-Herzegovina and grants them the right to use force to carry out their mission, a question arises as to whether this means a preface to a military intervention of greater dimensions, like the one in Korea in 1950 or Operation Desert Storm in the Persian Gulf three years ago.

Judging by the UN Security Council resolution adopted yesterday, it is planned to bring reinforcements to the UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] troops in the six protected zones in Bosnia-Herzegovina, that would also have heavy armament at their disposal and, if need be, also the air support from one of the nearby NATO bases. The UN troops are also authorized to supervise the observation of cease-fire and, as it is stressed in the document, to also demand the withdrawal of all paramilitary formations from the territories envisaged as the protected zones, with the exception of the units of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Government. In other words, this means that the green fezzes of Alija Izetbegovic [president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency] will get the protection and the assistance of the UNPROFOR troops similar to the model applied earlier in Srebrenica. Such blatant bowing to one of the sides in the civil war is definitely not the way to establish lasting peace but a source of new misunderstandings and tensions.

Since it is not stated how many additional soldiers should be deployed to protect the Muslims in Sarajevo, Zepa, Gorazde, Tuzla, Bihac, and Srebrenica, various numbers appear in the press. It is worthwhile mentioning an earlier plan compiled by the Western European Union in this regard, in which it is warned that at least another 15,000 UN soldiers would have to be mobilized for the protection of Sarajevo alone in addition to a considerable tactical air force.

The units would be deployed in the pattern of concentric circles. In the first circle, covering the area of merely few kilometers, the civilian population would be protected, and in the second much wider circle, actions aimed at neutralization or withdrawal of the Serbian artillery and armored troops would be undertaken.

A memorandum that the French Government sent to the international organization is also interesting. It is stressed in it that 5,000 soldiers should be secured for each of the remaining five towns placed under the UN protection. In this way we can reckon that approximately 40,000 UNPROFOR soldiers are required in addition to the existing peace troops. Besides the problems connected with the commanding to the troops, an open question arises as to which countries are willing to offer their soldiers for the implementation of the envisaged plan. America has long ago stated that it does not intend to send its ground troops, bearing in mind that the war in Bosnia is primarily an European problem, but that it will support the possible action with its air force.

The objective analysts rightly connect the latest authority to use force given to the UNPROFOR with the decision to close the sky above Bosnia, as the first step from the mandate of a peace operation to the operation of imposing peace, with numerous attributes of a foreign military intervention.

The experience gathered in over 150 local wars fought in the last 40 years clearly warns that imposition of peace at the expense of any side involved in the clash cannot bring a lasting solution to the problem and this definitely applies to the Bosnia-Herzegovina battlefield, too.

Croat Army Continues Provocations

LD0506122393 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1131 GMT 5 Jun 93

[Text] Sitnica, June 5 (TANJUG)—Croatia's Army opened heavy mortar and machine-gun fire on the border units of the Yugoslav Army on Yugoslavia's southern border with Croatia, the information service of the Yugoslav Navy command said in a statement.

Croatian forces based southeast of Dubrovnik opened fire on the region of Sitnica. The Yugoslav side did not return fire but lodged a sharp protest with the U.N. Protection Force (UNPROFOR). The provocations ceased only after UNPROFOR's warning.

The Croatian forces opened fire from the areas from which the Yugoslav Army had withdrawn over seven months ago, after Croatia's secession from the former Yugoslavia.

The relocation of the Yugoslav Army had been agreed by the presidents of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (F.R.Y.) and Croatia, Dobrica Cosic and Franjo Tudjman, through the mediation of UNPROFOR.

The Croatian side violated the agreement 106 times in the seven months, the Navy command statement said.

The Croatian side tried to provoke the Yugoslav Army units to fire back, so that it could then use this as evidence that Croats are exposed to unsparing actions and forced to defend themselves, the statement said.

Croatia's latest provocation shows once again that the Croatian forces in the region do not observe the agreed ceasefire and that the Republic of Croatia is not interested in peace, the statement concluded.

Draskovic Seeks To Continue Planned SPO Meeting

AU0506190793 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 2 Jun 93 p 8

[Report on Vuk Draskovic's announcement of a meeting on the occasion of St. Vitus' Day (anniversary of the battle of Kosovo), by B. Mitrovic: "Serbian People Must Take to the Streets Again"]

[Text] Belgrade—"It is time that the democratic Serbia adopt and implement decisions." With this slogan the chairmen of the Serbian Renewal Movement [SPO] decided on Saturday [29 May] to continue the meeting organized on the occasion of St. Vitus' Day. Vuk Draskovic, after having made this statement, informed reporters yesterday that this year's meeting, organized by DEPOS [Democratic Movement of Serbia], would take place in front of the Yugoslav Parliament on 27 June. If the DEPOS members, to whom Draskovic addressed a letter, do not give a positive answer by 10 June, the Serbian Renewal Movement would hold the meeting itself.

"On the eighth day of last year's meeting the DEPOS committee promised in front of 300,000 people to continue these meetings if the requirements of the opposition are not fulfilled. Since not a single requirement has been fulfilled, it is an obligation of all DEPOS members to keep their promise. That is why I sent a letter to the chairmen of DSS [Democratic Party of Serbia], SLS [Serbian Liberal Party], NPS [not further identified], New Democracy—Movement for Serbia, Peasants' Party, and Serbian Svetosavska Party, as well as to 'Independence' Union and Matija Velickovic [not further identified]. I mentioned in the letter what decision was taken by the SPO chairmen. I asked them to support the organization of the meeting and expressed my hope that DEPOS would be unique in this meeting. We are waiting for their answer by 10 June. If no answer comes, or if it is negative—but I do not think so—we shall convene a session of the SPO main committee. I cannot tell you now what decision we shall take, but if SPO is left in the lurch, it will organize the meeting itself. It is high time that we oppose the evil," Vuk Draskovic said yesterday in a news conference and concluded that the Serbian people had to take to the streets again.

"This regime can be neither overthrown, nor educated in the parliament. Neither can it be changed by some statements issued in news conferences. We tried to reach something on the streets and in the parliament, too, but we were not successful. It means that we have to take to the streets again, because history and our descendants will not forgive us if we do not try. If we succeed, we shall rescue Serbia, and this war will be over; if we fail, it will be noted at least that we were not only passive observers of the apocalypse. The SPO would like to organize this year's St. Vitus' meeting in a different way than last year. We shall invite the representatives of the democratic Serbia, priests and bishops, the youth fleeing the country, hungry pensioners and students, hard currency savers deceived by Yugoslav banks.... We shall also invite generals, officers, the army and police—all those who want to stay alive. All of them have to come and help stop this deterioration. An analysis of the present situation in Serbia has to be made in the meeting, and directions for the future have to be set. The most important thing is, though, that we pass decisions instead of making requests. What decisions will be taken and by which methods they will be implemented will be decided in the meeting," Vuk Draskovic said, pointing out that "it will also be decided in the meeting whether to act peacefully or not."

"It is high time to curb Slobodan Milosevic. If we do not do this, Belgrade will be tomorrow what Sarajevo and Mostar are today. It is not important who would fight against whom, the only important thing is that would come to a disaster. I am pleased that Milosevic will be far away from Belgrade on 27 June—he is supposed to be in Kosovo at that time. It is better for Serbia if he is far away. He also went to Macedonia the day before yesterday [31 May] in order to avoid the ousting of Dobrica Cosic," Draskovic said. He also criticized the international community for following the anti- Serbian policy by supporting the leadership which is leading the country into disaster and said that the democratic, Christian United States is backing the devil by calling the person who should be blamed for this war a peacemaker. He concluded by saying that Al Capone had been turned into Ghandhi overnight.

Ministry Statement on Detention

LD0506083293 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0010 GMT 5 Jun 93

[Text] Belgrade, 4 Jun (TANJUG)—On the basis of criminal charges brought by the Serbian Ministry of Internal Affairs—that is, on the basis of a request for initiating an investigation made by the district public prosecutor's office in Belgrade—an examining magistrate of the Belgrade District Court made a decision on 4 June to carry out an investigation of Vuk and Danica Draskovic, following interrogation of the suspects in the presence of their lawyers, the Serbian Information Ministry disclosed last night.

The decision states that with their joint activities in Belgrade on 1 June, they have committed the criminal act of attacking the constitutional system under Article 114 of the Yugoslav Penal Code, which—with a view to its consequences—is punishable under Article 139, paragraph one, of the Yugoslav Penal Code. Vuk Draskovic has also committed the criminal act of preventing an official from carrying out his duties in the field of security and keeping public order and safety under Article 24, paragraph three, of the law on public peace and order of the Republic of Serbia.

At the same time, the examining magistrate has decided that both suspects will stay in prison on the basis of

Article 191, paragraph two, points three and four, of the law on criminal proceedings, the statement concludes.

SPO Appeals for Release

LD0606123593 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1113 GMT 6 Jun 93

[Text] Belgrade, 6 Jun (TANJUG)—The Presidency of the Serbian Renewal Movement [SPO] issued a public statement today "once again dramatically calling on official bodies to release SPO Chairman Vuk Draskovic and his spouse."

"Their threatened health following ruthless torture and their grave punishment have seriously disturbed the SPO," members of the party Presidency, Executive Committee, and SPO deputies to both assemblies [Serbian and Yugoslav] said at an extraordinary session today warning that "it is with extreme efforts that they have been controlling the behavior of their members."

"Further imprisonment of the SPO chairman and his spouse would inevitably aggravate social tensions, would be detrimental for the reputation of the country, and would threaten the peaceful and democratic curbing of the chaos that may prevail," a statement says.

The statement goes on to say that the speed in setting in motion proceedings against Draskovic and the banning of the SPO was not applied in the case of Deputy Vakic whose act, it is said, directly caused the events on 1 June.

The raid on SPO premises, the arrest and torture of its members, are "examples of repression characteristic only of totalitarian regimes" while a motion to ban the SPO represents "the most dangerous threat to democracy, an attack on the multiparty system, and on human rights," the SPO statement says.

Human Rights Official on War Crimes Trial

93BA1037D Belgrade VREME in Serbo-Croatian 10 May 93 p 29

[Article by Natasa Kandic, executive director of the Fund for Human Rights: "The War on Trial"]

[Text] The news that sentence has been pronounced in Podgorica on five members of the army of the Serbian republic for the cruel murder of the Klapuh family from Foca raises the issue of whether the Montenegrin Government is announcing enforcement of national legislation even in connection with other war crimes attributed to certain national-patriots from Montenegro or is related to them.

In support of this thesis, I will mention just one fact which determines and stresses the political behavior of the opposition and the government in Montenegro. When the Serbian police blocked every road toward Serbia to the Trebinje Muslims, the opposition lobbied, and the government in Montenegro adopted a decision to receive and house more than 3,000 people who by decision of the government of the so-called Serbian republic had been driven out by the well-known ecologist Bozidar Vucurevic, presumably so that he could start up the Serbian bulldozers in peace and plow under the Muslim traces.

The Klapuh case did not fall from the sky suddenly. The family was killed in early July, and 10 days later this news was broadcast over Radio Sarajevo and Radio Titograd. In October 1992, there was a story that one of the participants had been arrested, but that all information about this was blacked out. Information about the movement of the entire group indicates that Janko Janjic, known as Tuta, Zoran Vukovic, and others often went to Montenegro during the summer of 1992. After the convoy left Foca with the last Muslims, on 13 and 14 August 1992, Janko Janjic and others were in Belgrade almost every day. Those who know them from Foca say that they come in military uniforms, but occasionally in the prewar wardrobe of various people from Foca of the same size.

The fact that the trial in Podgorica took place in the absence of some of the accused, who can be encountered on the streets of Belgrade, suggests the conclusion that Belgrade is still pretending not to have anything to do with this and other crimes committed in Foca, Visegrad, Skelani.... That applies equally to the government and the opposition. And when it turned out that Danica Draskovic had brought to light only a little part of the truth about the method of fighting for the Serbian cause, again there was no one who wanted to listen and believe.

Nevertheless, the Klapuh case might turn public opinion in favor of a peace policy that would condemn the war. One of the obstacles on that road is not so much any longer the strong official propaganda of the crimes committed by the other side or the third side as the firm conviction of people in Serbia that all Serbian crimes are just: "If we had not gotten them on time, they would have gotten us more terribly and in greater numbers."

The greatest benefit in this cause comes from the documented presentation of the facts and conscientious investigation of, above all, the Serbian crimes.

A few bits of information by way of documented presentation of the facts:

Janko Janjic, alias Tuta, was in prison in Belgrade when the war in Bosnia began. Those who know him say that he is a narcotic addict, alcoholic, idler, convicted several times. He arrived in Foca in early May. According to the testimony of many, he is responsible for a sizable number of murders of civilians, for looting the personal property of Muslims, for taking civilians to the Cultural and Educational Center, for the disappearance of certain people, and for organizing and taking part in the sexual violence against women....

Zoran Vukovic, a chauffeur in the Maglic firm. According to the allegations of people in Foca, he recently committed suicide. He left a letter behind.

There are too many fighters for the Serbian state of that kind for the silence to continue. About 50 are recognized in connection with Foca. The same number ravaged Visegrad. These are people who actually committed the crimes. Where are those who issued the orders or knew that the crimes were being committed?

Changes in Army Leadership Viewed

93BA1037B Belgrade VREME in Serbo-Croatian 10 May 93 pp 22-23

[Article by Filip Svarm: "General Dismissals"]

[Text] May 1992 was marked by the flareup of war in Bosnia-Herzegovina and by the retiring of 38 generals and admirals. The decree was signed by the SFRY Presidency, headed by Branko Kostic. In May 1993, it seems that hope has vanished for an end of the Bosnia-Herzegovina war anytime soon, but only two generals were retired—Major General Nedeljko Boskovic and Colonel General Ljubomir Domazetovic. This ukase was signed by the first president of the FRY, Dobrica Cosic.

Generals Domazetovic and Boskovic were not just anybody in the military hierarchy. The first held the post of deputy chief of the General Staff for information, mobilization affairs, and morale, while the second was chief of the Security Administration. As a matter of fact, they are perhaps there even now, because, as we have learned, both generals are refusing to leave their offices. Official military circles have for a long time now been unofficially criticizing Gen. Domazetovic for the failure of mobilization in Serbia during all three wars in the former Yugoslavia (Slovenia, Croatia, and Bosnia-Herzegovina), and for spending a major part of his worktime and involving numerous collaborators on the preparation and publication of the book *Likovi i dela slavnih vojskovoda sveta kroz vekove* (*Character and Deeds of the World's Famous Military Commanders Down Through the Centuries*) (the book, by the way, weighs four and a half kg). And that in brief would be all as far as he was concerned, comprehended by the soldier's mind in the soldier's way—it would be hard to find anything more concrete.

The reason for the dismissal of Gen. Boskovic, in this (military) context, is still more mysterious. To be sure, he had no professional achievements of which to speak (the malicious would say there were none at all), but it is a big question who in the JNA [Yugoslav People's Army]/VJ [Army of Yugoslavia] can boast of them, and what have been the results, unless razing Vukovar to the ground can be taken as a success. But on the other hand his participation in the hunt for traitors and spies, which was a national sport last year, was taken note of and then some. Orders issued in the Security Administration under which officers of Croatian nationality were forbidden to come to work, the Opera Affair, the private prison in the building of the RV i PVO [Air Force and Air Defense] Command in Zemun, in which at least nine persons (military and civilian) spent 270 days without any court order whatsoever for the purpose of proving the existence of a "nest of Ustasha spies" in that branch of the armed forces—are more than eloquent examples of Gen. Boskovic's work. Among other things, he can also brag of having removed his predecessor, Gen. Aleksandar Vasiljevic, with the help of the Serbian MUP [Ministry of Internal Affairs], and then of his arrest and imprisonment in the same prison with captured members of the ZNG [National Guard Corps] from Vukovar who had been accused of war crimes (it is said that the Croatian prisoners had an occasion every day to look at Gen. Vasiljevic and the others arrested in the Opera Affair scrubbing corridor floors), and of breaking up the cohesion of the KOS [Counterintelligence Service] by eliminating the professional and quality officers whom he assumed not to be on the line of the current Serbian regime. Gen. Boskovic, that is, distinguished himself in what was required.

The Measure of Patriotism

Both removals of the generals were applauded by people inclined to conceive the Serbian national interests according to the measure of Dr. Seselj or a deputy in the Assembly of the Serbian republic [RS]. Which is no wonder when we realize that the incumbent party here also had the same position until quite recently. Gen. Domazetovic, an office type, by contrast with his fellow officer from the Security Administration, who was involved in more or less ground-level fieldwork, tried to settle things with big moves. Thus, it was in his office as chief personnel officer that the famous instruction was drafted that constitutes legalization of "ethnic cleansing" in the Army of Yugoslavia, or, more accurately, the instruction as to methods of getting rid of non-Serbs and officers who think differently. That is, the subordinate command structures were assigned the duty of filing with the superior structures a list of all active military personnel and civilians employed in the VJ born outside the territory of the FRY unless they were Serbs, Montenegrins, or Macedonians. A list of the persons already mentioned is also necessary, even if they belong to those three nationalities, if they do not meet professional, work-related, and patriotic criteria (it did not say how patriotism is ascertained).

What is more, there also had to be a list of all military personnel who had not moved the members of their immediate families to the FRY, the Serbian republic, or the Serbian republic Krajina [RSK]; those who had not for certain moved their families had to append their registration with the local authorities or write a statement. Finally, when all those data were gathered, the service in the VJ must be terminated by force of law for all those on the list. It was, of course, necessary to be tactful, and to have an individual conversation with each person being expelled during which they would be told approximately this: "When we were waging war, we needed you, but now pack up." They are all offered three conditions which must be unfailingly accepted: According to the first, upon discharge from the VJ it is

required to provide retraining; under the second, severance pay is paid in the amount of 24 monthly salaries (the amounts depend on the length of service), while under the third condition, active military personnel who have served 25 years are allowed to purchase longevity. The instruction emphasizes that it is very important that they all be disarmed before being discharged and that there be a strict accounting of the materials and equipment for which they are responsible. The entire campaign was to be completed by March 1993, and, as can be seen from the example of the Military Medical Academy, about which VREME has written, it was performed thoroughly and on schedule.

So, Gen. Domazetovic's power was not to be underestimated. He held in his hands the scales for measuring work characteristics, ethical, professional, and, most important, patriotic characteristics, and that, it must be admitted, is no small thing. Of course, the described transformation could not have been imagined without Gen. Boskovic's department, which produced the required assessments.

Volunteers

Gen. Boskovic maintained very close relations with Branko Kostic and Bozidar Vucurevic. All three, according to the story circulating in Montenegro, met on several occasions in the restaurant Izlet near Danilovgrad. What they talked about is known only to them, but according to the same sources, Kostic has been called into the Montenegrin MUP for an interview. However, the involvement of the Army of Yugoslavia in the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina is far more important than the conversation between the chief of the Security Administration and the leader of the Montenegrin fighters in 1991 and 1992 and a poet and warlord from Trebinje. By the nature of the thing, this could not have been done without Gen. Boskovic. Nor—as will soon be evident—could it be done without the deputy chief for information, mobilization affairs, and morale, Gen. Domazetovic. That is, a father from Banat received a letter from his son, whom he assumed to be serving his regular required military service at VP [APO] 4846 in Kovin. The son informed him in the letter that the officers were recruiting soldiers in MPV [morale and political education] classes as volunteers in the army of the Serbian republic, and that by signing certain papers he himself had become a volunteer. He was then sent to the battlefield in Bosnia-Herzegovina, of which he says: "There are four armies there! At the head are those who are paid in the VJ (contract soldiers), and then come us 'regulars,' and then the 'Arkanites,' and only after that Karadzic's local territorials. Those mercenaries get drunk until they pass out after every skirmish.... Once they left us alone near a minefield, and if we had not had a machine gun they would have killed us all."

It is clear that Generals Domazetovic and Boskovic are not the only ones who thought up "fraternal aid," nor are they even those who deserve the most credit for it, but in any case they have pretty much exposed themselves. Perhaps it was that that bothered someone?

Careerism

There has been no official explanation for their removal and retirement. There was a brief news release from the Office of President Cosic to the effect that this occurred to "meet the needs of the service." Only hypotheses are left concerning these sudden pensions. First: There have long been hints about pushing these two generals aside. Domazetovic is charged with the "sin" of submitting the law on the army during the tenure of Milan Panic and then supposedly having written the letter of the collegium of generals against Panic on the eve of the election silence in December 1992. In the eyes of Zivota Panic, chief of the General Staff, this showed him to be a careerist with the ambition of taking his place. The suddenly awakened inclination toward the Radicals, strengthened unprecedentedly since the election, only deepened the suspicion. As for Gen. Boskovic, his past is burdened with a number of scandals like Opera, which have not only experienced a judicial fiasco, but have so disrupted the security service that its recovery will take years. President Milosevic probably had this in mind when he spoke in Zemun "about the harmfulness of such scandals for the VJ." According to another hypothesis, both generals more than distinguished themselves in removing officers of the VJ in the course of the past year. There was thus a real possibility that in the new situation, when foreign military intervention is hanging in the air, that they would escape any control, that is, that the two of them could define patriotism according to their own lights, that is, proclaim and detect traitors. They would have more than certain support in Dr. Seselj, Branko Kostic, not to mention Dr. Karadzic and his epic society: The top Serbian leadership could no longer allow that. Finally, a third and very important hypothesis is that Generals Boskovic and Domazetovic did not understand the newly established peacemaking stance of Serbia and Yugoslavia. Lord Owen mentioned in a news conference that Serbia was slowly denying military aid to the Bosnian Serbs. Perhaps the two of them played a card that went against the official line in one way or another, believing in the indestructibility of the radical option, the option of universal Serbism, by promising the Bosnian warlords, outside the official structures, that there is no force that will deny their generosity in either personnel or war materiel.

In any case, both generals have been retired, but their successors have not been named, although Gen. Simonovic is already acting assistant chief of the General Staff. It is difficult to forecast what this will mean in the VJ, but the possibilities of new scandals—and also trials—remain open. Dr. Seselj will be hurt the most, because, as he says, Gen. Boskovic was removed because he had communicated to him important information of national interest.

Bank Owner in Athens; Funds in Cyprus

93BA1025A Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 11 May 93 p 13

[Article by T. Todorovic: "Master Jezda in Athens, Foreign Exchange in Cyprus"]

[Text] Nis, 10 May—It took a month before the gullible depositors of yet another savings bank organization realized that they had been deceived. Today, it is finally completely clear that the Nino-Komerc savings bank and pawn shop no longer exist in Nis, that several hundred citizens of Nis have been deceived, but certainly many more in Vukovar and Pirot, where the savings bank had its branches. In Pirot, indeed, it all lasted a much shorter time and there was less uncertainty—back on about 28 April resourceful depositors broke into the offices of Nino-Komerc and took out the telephones, the computer, and the fax machine, and in that way reimbursed themselves to some extent.

Today's official communique of the financial police of the Republic of Serbia in Nis that Nino-Komerc's giro account is being blocked because it has not paid taxes and the empty offices at No. 14 Boris Kidric Street in Nis are the best indication that there is no hope any longer for all those who deposited their foreign exchange, dinars, gold jewelry and other items of value in this savings bank and pawn shop. At the same time, there has also been an official denial from the Nis city government that it had any connection whatsoever with these business undertakings of the owner of the savings bank or with investments in petroleum to meet the needs of Nis' economy (?), which also shattered the last illusions and hope of the deceived depositors that the fugitive owners would be coming back to Nis.

The Financial Police Block the Account

"The owners of Nino-Komerc, the married couple, Branka and Nikola Dimitric, have gone to Cyprus with their youngest son (they have two other older ones) with UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] documents in order to import petroleum. As far as I know, the value of petroleum which they were to bring to Yugoslavia was 5.3 million marks [DM]. When suspicion arose in the first days after their departure that they would not be coming back, we telephoned Nikola Dimitric, whose words were precisely these: 'I am coming back to Yugoslavia before 23 April with the petroleum the city of Nis needs. I expect additional foreign exchange to pay for the entire shipment, and I am coming.' However, 23 April came and went, all of the deadlines later set by the couple also came and went, and they still have not appeared. In the meantime, they have gone to Athens from Cyprus, and it is from there that we had the last word from them, after the holiday," said Aleksandar Vojinovic, financial director of Nino-Komerc.

Until yesterday, depositors were for all practical purposes referred solely to this man and the guards. However, the sign has been gone since yesterday. Instead of Nino-Komerc, there is a new sign for the Belgrade firm Rapid, where Zoran Nikic, who heads the office, told us:

"The lease ran out on our space, and Nino-Komerc moved out. All the equipment and communications machines were taken away, there is nothing left but the papers, which we will nevertheless preserve."

In the meantime, the financial police have blocked the savings bank's giro account.

"Nino-Komerc's giro account is blocked because an audit has established in the meantime that tax has not been paid to the government," says Miroljub Binic, who heads the Serbian financial police in Nis.

Aleksandar Vojinovic, financial director in the savings bank and pawn shop, told us that in connection with the last telephone conversation from Cyprus some of the gold jewelry and other valuables belonging to the Dimitric couple which had been in the safe of Niska Banka [Bank of Nis] had been removed to a safer place. As for the deceived depositors, Vojinovic says:

"I really am not in a situation at this point to explain anything, I promise, because I myself am convinced that the owners will never come back to Yugoslavia. We have depositors come to us, we even have as much as DM250,000 in Nino-Komerc. However, there is no way I can help."

The Great Do-Gooders

After the first suggestions that Nikola Dimitric was "passing the buck" to the city authorities and Nis' need for petroleum, that he had gone to Cyprus on a mission for the Nis economy, there was at the outset quite a bit of silence in the city government, but then in the end it was all denied.

"It is a fact that Nikola Dimitric did offer the energy headquarters large amounts of petroleum on behalf of his firm, Nino-Komerc. However, the city government and energy headquarters took the same attitude toward him as all other suppliers, which was that any commodity that might possibly be delivered and offered would be paid for only when it was accepted. Dimitric wanted to establish himself as a successful businessman, but he did not get money in advance from Nis and the Nis economy," says Miroslav Radovanovic, chairman of the headquarters for energy.

However, there is a great deal of benefit to Nis and to the refugees from Bosnia and Croatia that was done by the Dimitric couple. There were many humanitarian gestures both on their own and jointly arranged with many institutions. Among other things, Nino-Komerc was the general sponsor of the Nis Boxing Club and of the big boxing review "Belgrade Victor," which was held in Nis. The ties which Nikola Dimitric had with certain city officials, business executives, and directors of firms in Nis gave the savings bank and pawn shop the slogan "Nino is doing fine."

When all is said and done, there remains the open question of what happened and how did it happen? The fate of the business office in Vukovar and of the checks of the savings bank being used by people in Vukovar is still not known. From what we have learned, there have also remained three foreign firms in Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Cyprus.... And, of course, depositors in Nis and Pirot who have no one to whom to complain.

Serbia

Opposition, Orthodox Warn of Serbian Civil War

AU0506162993 Paris AFP in English 1550 GMT 5 Jun 93

[Report by Nicolas Miletitch]

[Text] Belgrade, June 5 (AFP)—Serbian opposition groups and the Orthodox Church warned Saturday the country was on the brink of civil war following the arrest and indictment of opposition leader Vuk Draskovic.

"Serbia is on the edge of civil war," Yugoslav deputy Pavle Premovic, a member of the DEPOS coalition which includes Draskovic's Serbian Movement for Renewal (SPO), told AFP.

Draskovic, arrested with his wife Danica after riots Tuesday in Belgrade, faces up to 10 in prison if convicted on charges of seriously wounding a police officer.

His lawyer said Friday both Draskovic and his wife had suffered severe injuries from blows received during and after their arrest and should be hospitalised immediately.

The disturbances were sparked by parliament's dismissal of Yugoslav president Dobrica Cosic in a move observers say was engineered by Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic.

Meanwhile the DEPOS leadership warned, in a statement published by the Borba newspaper, that any move to ban the SPO "would be not only illegal but would lead to the introduction of dictatorship and the outbreak of civil war."

Such a ban would be "dangerous" and "would push into illegality a party which won 800,000 votes in the last election," Democratic Party leader Dragoljub Mincunovic told Borba.

The Belgrade prosecutor's office this week was instructed to begin proceedings to ban the SPO.

The Orthodox Church also attacked Draskovic's arrest and warned of a "fratricidal war between Serbs.

"The arrest and mistreatment inflicted on the leader of an opposition party are not worthy of our state," said the ruling body of the Serbian Orthodox Church in a statement carried by the Tanjug news agency.

The church attacked the "illegal actions of the security forces" in repressing Tuesday's protest, during which a policeman died and around 30 people were hurt, including eight with bullet wounds.

Last month the church called for the departure of Serb leaders "incapable of leading the Serbian people along the right path," and the formation of a "government of national union."

Belgrade theology students earlier this month circulated a tract calling for the "defence of the Serbian people against the communist and atheist regime," and called on Milosevic to resign.

However, the church has also distanced itself from the SPO, which backs the Vance-Owen peace plan for Bosnia-Herzegovina where Serb nationalists are fighting to create an independent state.

The church has found support in the ultranationalist Radical Party lead by hardliner Vojislav Seselj, which back's the Bosnian Serbs' refusal to accept the international peace plan.

In a separate development senior Yugoslav army officers and federal defence ministry officials held a meeting Saturday chaired by Milos Radulovic, chairman of the Chamber of the Republics, the Tanjug news agency said, quoting a communique released by army headquarters.

The meeting was devoted to tensions within the armed forces after a soldier went berserk Wednesday in a barracks in Vranje, southern Serbia, killing a sergeant-major and seven soldiers and wounding five others.

Macedonia

U.S. Troops Reportedly To Be Stationed in Macedonia

LD0606112693 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1045 GMT 6 Jun 93

[By Miroljub Zaric]

[Text] Skopje, June 6 (TANJUG)—Observers in Skopje, who have claimed for quite some time that the leadership of the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia agreed to the stationing of U.S. troops in the new republic, are apparently right.

This is confirmed by the latest international activities of the authorities in Skopje and recent statements by President of Macedonian Parliament Stojan Andov, Defence Minister Vlado Popovski, and other officials and representatives of parliamentary parties.

These analysts, as well as leaders of some opposition parties, maintain that the alleged "peril from the north", i.e. Serbia, is only an excuse which Macedonian leadership is using to justify the stationing of U.S. troops in the republic. The excuse has a double purpose—to prepare the citizens for the forthcoming arrival of troops and to

act as "alibi" in front of the international public for the opening of U.S. military bases.

Some Macedonian officials in their statements mentioned the deployment of U.S. troops only along the northern border. Skopje media, however, said a short while ago that a group of Western military experts had been photographing the terrain in order to find the best locations for the stationing of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) troops. The media said the troops would be located in the Skopje-Tetovo-Kumanovo triangle, near Skopje Airport and on Krivolak, in the central part of the republic where the Yugoslav People's Army had its testing range until April 1992.

In the talks with Carl Levin, member the Military Committee of U.S. Senate, in Skopje two days ago, all representatives of the leading parliamentary parties—former communists, Albanians and Macedonian nationalist parties alike—agreed that the presence of U.S. troops in Macedonia was needed. The differences in their stands pertained only to the organization of the stationing of troops—whether it would be done by the United Nations, NATO or through a bilateral arrangement.

Contrary to the parliamentary parties, major parties not represented in the parliament—Christian Democratic Party, Democratic Party of Yugoslavs, Democratic Party of Serbs, New Communist Movement and the Movement for All-Macedonian Action (MAAK)—oppose the stationing of U.S. bases. They maintain that this would lead to a loss of sovereignty and a permanent U.S. interference in the republic's interior affairs. They believe Washington would support those political parties which would be obedient and serve U.S. interests.

The president of the Macedonian Parliament told Senator Levin that "there is no fear that people would be discontent with U.S. presence in the defence mission on the border." To eliminate the dilemma which border was at issue, Levin and Macedonian officials visited the Tabanovci crossing on the Serbian-Macedonian border.

The number of U.S. troops to arrive in Macedonia is still unknown. Some media said that Tornado war planes, helicopters, mechanized units and special units trained for long-term guerrilla fighting and commando units would be located at Skopje Airport. The numbers that are mentioned go from 700 to 70,000 troops and their family members.

Bulgaria's Berov Arrives for Talks

LD0606211493 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2020 GMT 6 Jun 93

[Text] Skopje, 6 Jun (TANJUG)—Ljuban Berov, president of the Ministerial Council of Bulgaria and acting foreign minister, arrived in Skopje this afternoon on a two-day official visit to the former Yugoslav republic of Macedonia at the invitation of Macedonian Prime Minister Branko Crvenkovski.

Official talks between the two prime ministers began immediately upon Berov's arrival in Skopje. They will discuss the situation in the two states and in the region, as well as bilateral relations. It was announced that there will also be discussion of the agreement on the use of Bulgaria's $20 million loan to Macedonia.

The Bulgarian prime minister is expected to be received tomorrow by Macedonian President Kiro Gligorov and Assembly President Stojan Andov.

This is the first visit by the Bulgarian prime minister to the former Yugoslav republic of Macedonia.

Montenegro

Montenegro's First War Crime Trial

93BA1037C Belgrade VREME in Serbo-Croatian 10 May 93 pp 27-29

[Article by Velizar Brajovic: "Pandora's Box Opened"]

[Text] Judge Milic Medjedovic's panel of criminal judges in the Superior Court in Podgorica pronounced a sentence of 20 years in prison for Janko Janjic (age 25), Zoran Vukovic (age 37), Radomir Kovac (age 31), and Zoran Simovic (age 28) for the crime of murdering the three-member Klapuh family (of Muslim nationality), while the fifth defendant, Vidoje Golubovic (age 25), the only one accessible to law enforcement agencies, was sentenced to eight months in prison for failure to report perpetrators of a crime for which the death sentence may be pronounced. All five, members of the special "Dragan Nikolic" Detachment of the army of the Serbian republic, took the lives of Hasan, Feriha, and Sena Klapuh of Foca in a savage way on 6 July 1992 in the Piva Canyon, not far from Pluzine. They were tried in Podgorica because the crime was committed on the territory of the Republic of Montenegro.

The verdict will be remembered because after a short trial the criminals were sentenced to more than eight decades in prison, but particularly because this is the first civilian trial for war crimes committed on the territory of Montenegro and Serbia. At the same time, the verdict has upset all participants in the war who have a bad conscience and who sought asylum in Montenegro, and it could be regarded as the herald of new trials, which corresponds to the recent declaration of the Montenegrin parliament condemning war crimes and ethnic cleansing regardless of which side in the conflict committed them.

Surprise

Before the actual trial, however, few people in Montenegro knew about the monstrous atrocity that had been committed. It was talked about in whispers, and the journalists did not write about everything. The atrocity occurred during the exodus of the Muslims from eastern Bosnia who were trying to find salvation in Montenegro.

Publication of the story of the crime would quite certainly have shaken the desire of many noncombatants to seek refuge here. In late July of last year, this journalist learned that the victims had been buried in Niksic, that orders had been given for them to be buried in a common grave, which the Muslim gravedigger refused, and he dug three separate graves. Security forces very quickly identified the criminals, and the news was leaked immediately that one of them had in fact been arrested and that his family in Podgorica was already looking for a lawyer.

Nevertheless, the information that "the trial for a war crime has begun," published in POBJEDA on 30 April, was both surprising and astounding, because it came at a time when certain political parties were threatening an armed rebellion if the government of Montenegro made a move contrary to their will and objectives. Rallies and campaigns were announced, along with the taking of "measures of self-protection" and the like, but publication of the verdict did not evoke any protest, nor indeed even reaction from any of the parties well-known for their extremism.

Only the fifth defendant, Vidoje Golubovic, was in the defendant's box of the Superior Court in Podgorica, while the others were tried in absentia, because the arrest warrant issued by the Montenegrin law enforcement agencies had produced no results, nor—so we have learned—did the insistence, repeated several times, that the authorities of the Serbian republic remand to them those who had committed the loathsome atrocity. The accused, Vidoje Golubovic, constantly denied the allegations of the charge that he took part in the murder: "I was arrested a month after the event," Golubovic said, "when I came to visit my wife and child in Pluzine. I was surprised, because I had not done anything." Golubovic said that he did not know the Klapuh family, nor could he have imagined what could happen. They had driven the Klapuh family from Foca, and when they crossed the Montenegrin border at Scepan Polje they stopped in a restaurant, where Janko Janjic had a conversation with Hasan Klapuh, while his wife and daughter were in the car. Some money was mentioned, but according to Golubovic's testimony, he did not hear all that they said. He was acquainted only with Janjic, he knew the others superficially, because they had been members of the same special unit for only a few months.

Motives

Janjic ordered Golubovic to stop the car at the Obrad Cicmil Bridge. Hasan was killed with a bullet in the back of the neck, and his wife and daughter screamed. "I tried to prevent Janjic from killing them," Golubovic said, "but he threatened me with a pistol and ordered me to keep quiet and cover the traces of blood on the asphalt. I was afraid and did what he said, and in the meantime they also killed the wife and daughter." All of this made him feel sick, Golubovic said, and he moved away. After that, they threw the bodies of the dead Hasan and the seriously wounded wife and daughter off the cliff of the Piva Canyon, which is about 100 meters high. The moans of the wounded were heard. Janjic ordered that they continue toward Pluzine, where they stayed a short while, and then they went back to Foca.

To the question of Miodrag Latkovic, public prosecutor, as to "how he as a member of the special unit could have been afraid of Janjic," Golubovic replied: "I knew that he had served several sentences and was a well-known criminal, and even without the threat with the pistol I was afraid of such a man."

The officials at the border crossing confirmed that the Klapuh family had crossed the Montenegrin border with the accused and that they had come back without them. They reported that the accused had returned to the restaurant when it was all over and behaved as though nothing had happened. The officials at the border made it possible to identify the criminals.

The highway maintenance worker found the bodies from the traces of blood, and an autopsy later established that the mother and daughter died two or three hours after they were wounded. The court did not establish the real motives of this crime, but there is a story going around that the Klapuh family was headed for Skoplje, that it had an agreement with the accused to drive them to Podgorica for several thousand German marks. A version has also been heard to the effect that the unfortunate family had solid savings, and even that the late Hasan was the warden of the Foca prison in which the accused Janjic had served time.

Be that as it may, the indictment of the superior public prosecutor charged the five members of the army of the Serbian republic with committing a crime—a war crime against the civilian population under Article 142, Paragraph 1, in conjunction with Article 22 of the KZJ [Criminal Code of Yugoslavia]. The panel of criminal judges of the Superior Court in Podgorica, following evidentiary procedure, however, pronounced sentence under Article 39, Paragraph 2, Subparagraph 6, of the KZCG [Criminal Code of Montenegro]. Judge Milic Medjedovic said that the court did not accept the allegations of the public indictment that the accused had committed the criminal act of a war crime against the civilian population, finding that this crime can be committed only on a territory affected by war or where an armed conflict is being waged, and it is well-known that there is no war on the territory of the FRY.

Dr. Radomir Prelevic, who was one of the defenders of the accused as part of his official duties, also had a heavy burden in this trial, on his own admission, above all because the accused were being tried in absentia, so that he did not have their version of the event. "After all," Prelevic says, "they are being tried for a war crime, the death penalty threatens, and all that is left for the lawyer to do is to seek in the available state of the facts a straw by which the accused can save themselves, and that was my job in these proceedings."

It is hard to say whether the accused will ever be accessible to the law enforcement agencies of Montenegro, but the court did believe the testimony of the participant or witness in the crime who attended the trial. Should any of those convicted fall into the hands of justice, they say both in the Prosecutor's Office and in the court, the trial must be repeated, because it could happen that the rest would put all the blame on Golubovic. It still is not certain whether the Prosecutor's Office, regardless of that, will appeal the level of the sentence, especially the sentence pronounced on Golubovic, and still less certain how the entire trial will end.

Blockade

It is certain, however, that the trial has discouraged all extremists and warriors who have found asylum in Montenegro or came here as "hardened fighters for the Serbian cause." And equally those who have been constantly threatening to turn Montenegro into a torch of war if its government betrays Serbism or makes a move that would signify secession from the state just created. A severe threat has come from Zeta, near Podgorica, where members of the extremist parties with a Serbian prefix, as "citizens dissatisfied because of the removal of the elementary school principal," saw this as an action of the government to "un-Serb the Serbs." Rail and highway traffic was blocked, there was a threat of armed resistance if the police intervened, but passions calmed down following the arrest of four participants in the setting up of the barricades and the threat from the Montenegrin MUP that in similar situations in the future it will react vigorously with all available means.

The rally of "Citizens of Montenegro and Herzegovina" under the slogan "No one must divide us," was not held in Vilusi on the border with Herzegovina, but at Klobuk on the Herzegovina side. No official announcement has been made as to why the place of the rally was changed, but it is well-known that in Vilusi, the night before the rally, the local people of Vilusi beat the men who came to set up the stage. The police have said that the beating had no political background, but it is a fact that four members of the Serbian Radical Party were arrested and also that the organizers were dissatisfied with the attendance of the rally in Klobuk, at which full support was given to the decision of the Assembly of the Serbian republic in Bijeljina.

Vojvoda Vojislav Seselj was also dissatisfied with the attendance at the rally held in Pljevlja, and still more at learning that the ranks of his followers are rapidly dwindling. In Montenegro, there are more and more peacemakers, and it is increasingly certain that many who in the face of the provisions of the law have committed deeds on the territory of Montenegro for which the law envisages punishment measured in decades will be sitting in the defendant's box. The question is what will come from the retrial of Mr. Ceko Dacevic who will be sitting in the defendant's box because of persecution, murder, and the kidnapping of travelers from the Pljevlja village of Bukovica? Some people expect light to be shed on the story about certain members of the former JNA [Yugoslav People's Army] who were killed on the battlefield and which are associated with the activity of extremists who are freely walking the streets of Montenegro.

People simply expect an end to the silence about many events, which, it is generally believed, has been heralded by the resolution of the Montenegrin parliament condemning war crimes and ethnic cleansing, as well as by this trial. There is no doubt that there will also be talk about the role of the government in all this, but it is more than certain that Montenegro is becoming a hot terrain for all those who have found refuge in it after various crimes.